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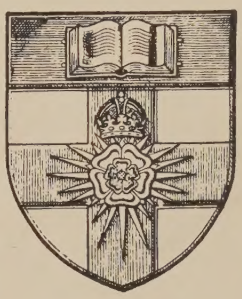

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

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D B Thompson
March 22. 1910.

Massachusetts Historical Society

Founded 1791

PROCEEDINGS

OCTOBER, 1918—JUNE, 1919

VOLUME LII

Published at the Charge of the Peabody Fund

Boston
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INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH
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CONTENTS.

PAGE

AMHERST, MASS.
Petition on the Embargo 161
ANNUAL MEETING
Report of the Council 169
Treasurer 174
Assistant Librarian 183
Cabinet Keeper 183
Committee on Library 184
Officers 186
BARBOUR, FRANCIS
Letter to Lucy Elizabeth Barbour, 1834 278
BIGELOW, MELVILLE MADISON
Becket and the Law 7
BOSTON
Fire, 1872 276
Petitions of 1664 312
Plan on Powder Horn 334
BOWDITCH, CHARLES PICKERING
Lincoln Life Mask and Hands 319
BURNS CENTENARY, BOSTON, 1859 153
CARRÉ, EZEKIEL, AND THE FRENCH CHURCH IN BOSTON . . 121
CODMAN, CHARLES RUSSELL
Tribute by John Torrey Morse, Jr. 87
DOWSE, WILLIAM BRADFORD HOMER
The Plymouth Medallion, 1620–1920 165
ELIOT, CHARLES WILLIAM
Memoir of Arthur Theodore Lyman 36
EMERTON, EPHRAIM
The Periodization of History 55
ERRATA 340

PAGE

FARLOW, JOHN WOODFORD
The Trinity Historical Society 276
FITZ, REGINALD HEBER
Memoir by Henry Pickering Walcott 104
FORD, WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY
Ezekiel Carré and the French Church in Boston 121
Burns Centenary, Boston, 1859 153
A Relic of Edward Winslow 159
A Ghost Book 277
GIBBON, EDWARD
Letters, etc. 148
GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY 1, 44, 85, 117, 139, 165, 282, 317
GRANT, ALEXANDER
Letter to Patrick Grant, 1840 31
GRANT, ROBERT
Tribute to Samuel Abbott Green 49
GOODELL, ABNER CHENEY, JR.
Memoir by Thomas Franklin Waters 38
GREEN, SAMUEL ABBOTT
Tribute by John Collins Warren 45
Robert Grant 49
Julius Herbert Tuttle 52
GREENOUGH, CHARLES PELHAM
Memoir of James Bradley Thayer 133
Transmittendum 142
HISTORY AT HARVARD COLLEGE IN THE SEVENTIES 69
HOWE, MARK ANTONY DE WOLFE HOWE
Memoir of Thomas Russell Sullivan 80
ILLUSTRATIONS ix
KELLEN, WILLIAM VAIL
Memoir of Henry Morton Lovering 101
LODGE, HENRY CABOT
A General Peace 4
LORD, ARTHUR
Alexander Scammell 143
Report as Treasurer 174
LOVERING, HENRY MORTON
Memoir by William Vail Kellen 101
LYMAN, ARTHUR THEODORE
Memoir by Charles William Eliot 36

PAGE

MEMBERS, LISTS OF
Resident xii
Corresponding xiv
Honorary xiv
Deceased xvi
MINOT, JOSEPH GRAFTON
Report of the Council 169
MONIS, JUDAH 285
MOORE, GEORGE FOOT
Judah Monis 285
MORSE, JOHN TORREY, JR.
Tribute to Charles Russell Codman 87
MURDOCK, HAROLD
Edward Gibbon 148
NORCROSS, GRENVILLE HOWLAND
The Boston Fire, 1872 276
Report as Cabinet-Keeper 183
OSWALD, RICHARD
Letter, 1747 77
PERIODIZATION OF HISTORY 55
PLYMOUTH MEDALLION, 1620–1920 165
ROBINSON, DAVID
Letter to William Preston, 1761 163
SCAMMELL, ALEXANDER 143
SEWALL, SAMUEL
Merchant, 1683–1698 334
STARR, JESSE
Plan of Boston on Powder Horn 334
STORER, MALCOLM
The Manly Washington Medal 6
Admiral Vernon Medals, 1739–1742 187
SULLIVAN, THOMAS RUSSELL
Memoir by M. A. De Wolfe Howe 80
SWIFT, LINDSAY
A Course of History at Harvard College in the Seventies 69
THAYER, JAMES BRADLEY
Memoir by Charles Pelham Greenough 133
Transmittendum 142
THAYER, WILLIAM ROSCOE
George Washington in Cambridge 146

PAGE

Trinity, Texas, Historical Society 276
Tuttle, Julius Herbert
Tribute to Samuel Abbott Green 52
The Society's Diploma of Membership 95
Report as Assistant Librarian 183
The Boston Petitions of 1664 312
Vernon Medals, 1739–1742 187
Walcott, Henry Pickering
Memoir of Reginald Heber Fitz 104
Warren, John Collins
Tribute to Samuel Abbott Green 45
Bunker Hill and Temperance Cup 119
Warren, Winslow
Governor Edward Winslow 323
Washington in Cambridge 146
Waters, Thomas Franklin
Memoir of Abner Cheney Goodell, Jr. 38
Willard, Daniel
Diary in Washington, 1846 99
Winslow, Edward
A Relic of 159
Governor 323

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

James Bradley Thayer . . . . . *Frontispiece*
Medals, Miniature and Profile Painting 5
Manly Washington Medal 6
Arthur Theodore Lyman 36
Abner Cheney Goodell, Jr. 38
Thomas Russell Sullivan 80
Henry Morton Lovering 100
Reginald Heber Fitz 104
Warren Temperance Cup 120
Title-page of Carré's "Echantillon" 126
Canne's "The Snare is Broken" 160
Key to the Vernon Medals 212
Plan of Boston and Neighborhood, from Jesse Starr's Powder Horn 334

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1910.

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1919.

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MEMBERS DECEASED.

July, 1918 — June, 1919.

Resident.

1860, Samuel Abbott Green	Dec.	5, 1918.
1893, Charles Russell Codman	Oct.	5, 1918.
1911, George Hodges	May	27, 1919.

Honorary.

1911, Andrew Dickson White	Nov.	4, 1918.

Corresponding.

1878, Charles Henry Hart	July	29, 1918.
1883, Charles Richmond Weld	Sept.	11, 1918.
1908, Henry Morse Stephens	April	16, 1919.
1910, Edward Doubleday Harris	March	2, 1919.
1912, French Ensor Chadwick	Jan.	27, 1919.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1918.[1]

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the PRESIDENT, Mr. LODGE, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved. The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Richard Henry Dana, the deposit of the death mask of Washington Allston.

From Miss Annie H. Thwing, a specimen cable made by Glass, Elliot & Co., gutta percha manufacturers of London, in 1856, for Cyrus W. Field, in preparation for making the first Atlantic Telegraph Cable, and given to her father, the late Supply Clap Thwing; also a collection of Rebellion envelopes, note headings, Confederate money, and three pieces of scrip issued by Harris and Chapman of Boston, on December 1, 1862.

From Fred A. Hallett, a working model of the railroad equipment on the Boston and Lowell Railroad, the first organized of the Boston roads, upon which the work of construction was actually begun. The road was opened in June, 1834, and the model was made soon after. It represents the form of ties, tracks, fish plates and switches then in use, and includes an earth car, pile-driver, road-bed hammer, hand-car, locomotive, tender, and passenger car. As a model of what was in use in the early days of railroads in Massachusetts it has a high historical interest.[2]

From Frederick Nordstrom, of Malden, a photostat of an engraved view of the Boston Exchange Coffee House, Congress Street,

[1] The meeting of October was postponed because of the prevailing epidemic of influenza, then at its height. Except for a holiday and a suspension for three months during repairs to the old building, the Society has not passed a stated meeting since its first meeting of January 24, 1791.

[2] See Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, IV. 126.

which appeared in *Omnium Gatherum* (Boston), Volume I. No. 1, for November, 1809.

From George A. Mower, two engravings, "The American General [Charles] Lee taken Prisoner by Lieutenant Colonel Harcourt of the English Army, in Morris Country, New Jersey, 1776," engraved by Hawkins, and "The Unfortunate Death of Major André (Adjutant General to the English Army) at Head Quarters in New York, Oct^r. 2, 1780, who was found within the American Lines in the character of a Spy," engraved by Goldar, both from Barnard's *History of England.*

From Mrs. William R. Thayer, an engraving by Henry S. Sadd of Benjamin Franklin from a painting by T. H. Matteson, and a lithograph of Daniel Webster.

From George L. Shepley, two pieces of Rhode Island money, 1786, ninepence, and two shillings and sixpence.

From George B. Brayton, a photograph of the State House, 1918, showing the two wings as completed.

From the Comité France-Amérique, which is founded for the purpose of developing the intellectual and social relations between France and the United States, a bronze replica, 1918, of the Medal of the Comité France-Amérique given at Harvard University annually to undergraduate students for the best essay on some aspect of French civilization. This medal is a restrike of the Washington evacuation-of-Boston medal.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Nathan Matthews, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society, and one from Frederick Scott Oliver, of London, England, accepting his election as a Corresponding Member.

The Editor reported the following accessions of MSS.:

By gift: From George Peabody Wetmore, an autograph album made by John Locke (1764–1855), who was a member of Congress from Massachusetts, 1823–1829. It contains a number of signatures, autograph and engraved visiting cards, and invitations to social events of that time, and constitutes a valuable record of social usage.

From Robert Grant, a letter of Alexander Grant to his nephew Patrick Grant, from St. Petersburg, March 10/22, 1840.[1]

From Grenville H. Norcross, twelve essays in MS. by William Everett.

[1] See p. 31, *infra.*

From Miss Mary Perkins Quincy, a photostat copy of a Commonplace Book of Edmund Quincy, 1737–1776. Professor Wendell has added photostat copies of a series of letters from Edmund Quincy to John Wendell, 1767–1785.

From the family of James Gardiner Vose, record books of Col. Joseph Vose of Milton, 1760–1788, including some military records of the 1st Massachusetts Regiment, 1777–1783.

From Prof. Charles Robert Cross, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a collection of Cross Papers, 1776–1829, chiefly relating to Newburyport.

From Miss Susan Hopkins, the papers of Mark Hopkins, 1790–1887.

From John W. T. Nichols, a letter of Henry Clay to John W. Treadwell, May 27, 1831.

From Frederick W. Hinkle, a deed signed by Andrew Lane, 1741.

By purchase: Papers of Samuel F. McCleary, 1704–1899.

Medfield papers, 1677–1800.

Note-book for 1746–1775 of Nathaniel Rogers (1723–1803).

Papers, journals and note-books of John and Stephen Metcalf, of Bellingham, 1727–1836.

Papers of Benjamin Harris, once collector of the town of Boston, covering the period from 1753–1809; Child Papers, 1765–1875; of Samuel B. Edes, 1799–1801; of William Jarvis, of Weathersfield, Vermont, 1799–1843; and of Benjamin McKendry, 1811–1815.

Invoice and sales book of Captain John Nutt, 1772–1784.

A volume of printed bonds, Boston, 1784–1804.

Tax lists of the Middle District of Edgecombe, Maine, 1796, copybook of Tristram Little, 1800, interesting for a poem and epitaph on General Washington.

Diary of Sarah W. Noyes, of Andover, 1808–1814.

The PRESIDENT announced the death of four members of the Society since the June meeting:

Charles Russell Codman, who died October 5, 1918, was elected in 1893.

Andrew Dickson White, died November 4, 1918, was elected a Corresponding Member in 1879, and raised to the Honorary roll in 1911.

Charles Henry Hart, died July 29, 1918, was elected a Corresponding Member in 1878.

Rev. Charles Richmond Weld, died in England, September 11, 1918, was elected a Corresponding Member in 1883.

The PRESIDENT then said:

I cannot allow this meeting to pass — and I am sure the Society would not wish me to do so — without a word as to the supreme event of the week, which is uppermost in every one's mind. The German armies have been defeated and have agreed to terms which constitute an unconditional surrender. The greatest war in recorded history has thus come to an end with the greatest victory ever won for freedom, humanity and civilization. We may well feel a solemn pride in the great result, and it is worthy of mighty rejoicing.

Much still remains to be done. Hostilities have been suspended, but peace is still to be made. We must have a peace that will be both real and enduring, and that can only be accomplished by putting Germany under physical guaranties, in such a position that she can never break forth again upon the world with a war of conquest. There are many difficulties to be faced and not the least is the fact that the convulsion caused by the war has produced in Russia what is known as Bolshevikism. We have been contending with a tyrannous military autocracy and organized barbarism, the tyranny of discipline and order. With the Bolsheviki we have the tyranny of disorder, as odious if not as dangerous to the world as that of Prussian militarism. With the tyranny of disorder, which is anarchy, pillage, famine and murder go hand in hand. It will be the duty of free and civilized nations to overcome this anarchy as they have overcome Germany. Then comes the work of reconstruction which the war has made necessary and inevitable.

These are the problems which the United States has to face. May we succeed with them as we have succeeded in our war with the German Empire.

Mr. BOWDITCH notified the Society of the special deposit by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences of certain volumes from its Library, subject to recall by a vote of its Council.

Professor BASSETT read a paper on Henri Harrisse, and Mr. RHODES, one on questions arising out of the presidential election of 1876.

Medals, Miniature and Profile Painting and Shades.

THE Publick are reſpectfully informed, that the ARTISTS, who took the moſt correct likeneſs of the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, and executed a Medal of him, are at the Houſe of Mr. JOHN COBURN, in *State Street*, and will continue for one month only; to take the moſt correct likeneſſes in two minutes ſitting; and finiſh them from *one dollar*, to *three*, or a Miniature from *ſeven* to *fourteen dollars*. They likewiſe execute the moſt elegant Devices in hair, on various ſubjects, and have a variety of faſhionable *Gold Lockets*, adapted for that purpoſe and for Miniatures, with a number of Medals, ſtruck in memory of various periods of the American war. Alſo, of the late Doctor *Franklin*, and that moſt approved *Hiſtorical Medal* of the PRESIDENT of the *United States*; acknowledged a ſtriking likeneſs: Nothing was ever ſo well calculated to tranſmit to poſterity, the memory of the friends and patriots who ſerved their country. They are the laſting monuments of publick reſpect, and publick gratitude; and the only thing which keeps pace with the tide of fleeting time, as every age increaſes their value.

In ſome friendly Patriots cabinet, ſecure they lie,
From rage of popular commotions, or inclement ſky
And like time itſelf, paſs on to all eternity.

They may be had as above, in white and gold coloured Metal and Silver, at *one*, *two* and *four* DOLLARS each, where ſpecimens of the ARTISTS' ability in Painting and Hair Work may be ſeen.

THE publick may depend on particular and obliging attention. *Ladies* and *Gentlemen* who read the above, are requeſted to communicate it to their friends.

All who wiſh to have any of thoſe articles, will pleaſe to apply ſoon, as the ARTISTS cannot ſtay longer than the time propoſed, having engaged to go to *Carolina* in the next month.

N. B. That all Perſons may have an opportunity of purchaſing thoſe Medals, a perſon will be appointed to wait on Ladies and Gentlemen, at their Houſes.

TAVERN-KEEPERS will oblige the ARTISTS, by puting this up in ſome conſpicuous part of their publick rooms.

BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 23, 1790.

Printed by N. COVERLY, at the ſign of the *Grand Turk*.

Dr. STORER spoke on

THE MANLY WASHINGTON MEDAL.

The interesting broadside here reproduced from the original in the papers of Caleb Davis, given to the Society by Dr. George B. Shattuck and Dr. Frederick C. Shattuck, must be one of the earliest records of any numismatic transactions in this country. It was also inserted as an advertisement in the *Columbian Centinel*, October 2, 1790. The medal of Washington referred to is undoubtedly that issued by James Manly[1] of Philadelphia early in 1790. I have found in W. S. Baker: *Medallic Portraits of Washington* (p. 40) an advertisement signed by Thomas Mifflin, Governor of Pennsylvania, dated February 22, 1790, stating that "to subscribers a medal [of Washington] will be delivered of fine white metal, to resemble silver, for one dollar; of a fine gold colored medal for two dollars; of fine silver, for four dollars; and of gold, in proportion to weight." The Manly medal, by the way, was the first Washington medal issued in this country. It will be noticed that in the Boston broadside no medals are offered in gold. The demand for them in that metal cannot have been large as I have placed on the table the only known specimen, which came to us in the Appleton collection. The "artists in attendance" were presumably Samuel Brooks[2] of Philadelphia, who executed the medal, his name being on the foot of the bust, and Joseph Wright[3] of Bordentown, New Jersey, who modelled the bust. You will see that the artists offer to give anyone a correct likeness for from one to three dollars as a result of a two minutes' sitting. Evidently these were specimens of "profile painting" or, I suppose, touched-up silhouettes. In 1790 three

[1] Nothing is known of James Manly except that he was probably an Englishman. His will, signed July 27, 1795, was probated August 11, 1795, and mentioned a son Charles, of the city of London, but neither wife nor other child. He was buried in Christ P. E. Churchyard August 9, 1795. I am indebted to Mr. John W. Jordan of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, for this information.

[2] Is this the engraver who is listed in Stauffer, 1. 29, of whose work only a single example is known — a bookplate made for Dr. J. Dove, of Richmond, Virginia? "The plate," adds Stauffer," is poor enough to be early American work." That Brooks was "living about 1800."

[3] An account of Joseph Wright and his Washington portraits will be found in Baker, *Engraved Portraits of Washington*, 46. A fair copy of Wright's profile portrait of the President is in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, March, 1791.

Manly Washington Medal

dollars was a fairly large sum for a portrait done in two minutes. It is to be hoped that the likenesses were better than that of Washington on the Manly medal which is certainly far from flattering and represents the President as very aged and haggard, in spite of the fact that in his advertisement Governor Mifflin asserts that the portrait is "a strong and expressive likeness, and worthy of the attention of the citizens of the United States of America." Evidently in 1790 the good people of the United States had not yet determined that they wished posterity to think of the Father of the Country as having the kindly visage familiar to us from the Stuart portraits.

This bust by Wright was also used for a medal of Washington designed to be used in the civic procession in Boston, February 22, 1800. This medal is extremely rare, only three specimens being known, the copy in the Society's collection being an electrotype. It was probably never actually issued owing to the carelessness of the die-cutter in omitting the word "in" from the inscription HE IS IN GLORY THE WORLD IN TEARS. It was designed by Dudley Atkins Tyng of Newburyport and executed by Jacob Perkins of the same place.

The medal of Franklin referred to may have been that struck in 1762 in honor of his reception of the Doctorate of Laws at St. Andrew's, Edinboro, but was more probably that struck in 1777 with the inscription NON IRRITA FULMINA CURAT. These two and the medallion by Nini (1777) were apparently the only Franklin medals struck before 1790.[1]

Mr. BIGELOW communicates the following paper on

BECKET AND THE LAW.[2]

In a former paper [3] I spoke of the contest between Henry II and Becket from the point of view of sovereignty; in this paper

[1] All three of the Franklin medals are in the Society's collections.

[2] I have throughout this paper referred to Giles' "Life and Letters of Becket," and to Hutton's "St. Thomas of Canterbury," because the passages quoted or cited are given by them in translation. The originals may all be found in *Materials of the History of Thomas Becket*, Master of the Rolls, 7 vols.

It is interesting to note that this paper is written in the year in which falls the 800th anniversary of the birth of Becket (1118). The precise date is unknown.

[3] *Proceedings*, LI. 116.

I speak of it from the point of view of law and morals. The question will still be one of the collective mind against self-centered individualism, but the focus will be shifted to morals, to collectivism founded on law in morality; at the same time steering clear of all speculative questions.

Undisciplined individualism may flourish under conditions of order or of disorder; with this difference, that it is less objectionable in the latter than in the former case, since it has the excuse of necessity. That was true in the disorder of Stephen's reign; every one had to look out for himself if any thing was to be saved from the ruin. This was true of churchmen as well as laymen. Was it to result in a general eclipse of morals, making sordid interests with all men an end in life; was individualism to become master where it should be servant; was this to be true in the councils of the Church as well as among the gentry and the less instructed masses? The records of crime were growing ominous; churchmen were becoming too often an example of a lost ideal. "Can an archdeacon be saved?" sighed John of Salisbury.[1] Was individualism of the sordid kind to fix its hold upon Englishmen and leave them in hopeless inability to unite? Opportunity, with the man for it, was to appear, an opportunity to be seized or lost, once for all.

Upon the restoration of order under Henry, the Becket conflict took up the question. Becket called, and never ceased to call, upon his fellow churchmen to rise from doubt and self-indulgence to the great occasion, and help assert and establish moral principle. He himself would of course uphold the rights of men in their just material interests, but such things must be in their place, however clear the need of action. Would Becket's fellows agree? They must, for it was the command of God, and Becket was the divinely appointed leader, to turn back the tide of selfish movement and replace it with the power of moral purpose as the universal solvent, if only put into active operation, of the ills of men. "If," said Becket to the

[1] Repeating a question of the schools. Stubbs, *Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History*, 139. See the complaints in the year 1158 of the exactions of archdeacons and rural deans, who escaped punishment by successfully denying the jurisdiction of the secular courts. William Fitz-Stephen, Hutton, 34, note. It is said that a hundred cases of homicide by churchmen had taken place in the disorders. William of Newburgh, I. 140; *History of English Law*, I. 437 *n.* See also Stubbs, *Lectures*, 132, 303, 314.

clergy, "it be a question of temporal matters, we should rather fear the loss of souls than of temporalities. Scripture saith, 'What doth it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?'"[1] With the passion of such words would Becket rouse and rally the clergy of England.

What sort of man in other respects Becket was must now be noticed. He had been educated in the Pandects and in the canon law; he had studied both, with full desire as the event showed, at the great schools; in Italy, at Bologna and Pavia; in France, at Paris and Auxerre. Afterwards we find him on the staff of his educational mentor, Archbishop Theobald; and in that house of Roman learning he is instrumental — on the occasion when Theobald wished to supplant Henry of Winchester as papal legate — in bringing to England a number of Italian lawyers, among them the famous Vacarius, who was to teach Roman *civil* law at Oxford in the year 1149, and to compose (for poor scholars) nine books out of the Pandects.[2]

One cannot be mistaken in regard to the effect of this training and association. It could not have failed, when, on Theobald's recommendation, at the beginning of the reign of Henry II, Becket was appointed chancellor (December, 1154), and so came into actual relations with the administration of the secular law as such,[3] the law corresponding of course to Roman civil law; for he was now keeper of the King's seal, superintendent of the King's writs by which suits were to be brought in the royal courts, a member of the Court of Exchequer, and one of the staff of royal judges of highest rank. Indeed Becket never ceased to be devoted to the study of Roman law. As late as in the year 1166, after his fight against the Constitutions of Clarendon had been lost, he was still applying himself to it. John of Salisbury, himself a canonist on the staff of Becket at Canterbury, now, like Becket, in exile, tells us this in a letter in which he gently reproaches his master for giving himself, at

[1] Giles, I. 363; and much more to the same effect.

[2] ". . . when Vacarius was teaching law, and Theobald was maintaining the schools of literature in his own palace, from which so many conspicuous men afterwards sprang." Stubbs, *Lectures*, 139.

[3] It was not because Becket was chancellor in the modern sense, that he stood upon equity or canon law, for there was no Court of Chancery then or for more than two hundred years; equity had become woven into the very texture of his mental make-up. It was *Becket*.

such a time, to vain pursuits. "The laws," by which he meant the canon law and the Pandects or Digest, he says, "may profit much, but they are not for us, under our circumstances."[1]

Roman law was, as John complained, taking the place of devotions. But the learning of it had always been a practical matter with Becket. Both as chancellor and as archbishop he was very near the King, down to the time of the breach. The pope had said that one near the King should understand both the canon and the civil law; this was necessary for the chancellor to enable him to advise the King properly in regard to matters of government, at least in point of morals, for he had the King's conscience in charge. He was as far as possible to prevent any violation of the canons, and by plain inference to see to it that the King's writs were not opposed to equity and justice — terms often used by Becket, as the very voice of the canon law.[2]

If Becket was led by education for his special work, he was no less destined to it by indomitable courage and firmness. This was soon to be shown. He had scarcely become archbishop (1162) — he had served seven years and a half as chancellor — when troubles began to thicken in high places. Tares had already been sown; the King was being alienated; bishops were withdrawing support, for fear of lands and goods. Becket engaged the enemy at once. The powerful Earl of Clare must give up the castle and barony of Tunbridge, held by him under unlawful alienation from Canterbury. The King was opposed to his face, in an attempt (1163) to divert to his own treasury what we should call commission fees received by the sheriffs in the collection of land taxes as of the old Danegeld.[3] The sheriffs might have the money, said Becket, in payment for services; it should not go to the King. The King replied with a favorite blasphemous oath, that the money should be given to him; "in the King's roll," (that is, in the Exchequer) "it shall

[1] Giles, I. 129, 130, 310.

[2] "The chancellor," said John of Salisbury, a canonist with Becket, "cancels unjust laws, and tempers (*æqua facit*) the mandates of the pious prince," with consent of course of the prince. Giles, I. 99 (1160). The reference is to Becket and equity, as the date shows. Becket was chancellor and had been for five or six years.

[3] *Dialogue of the Exchequer*, Lib. i, c. xi; Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 203; *Historical Documents*, Henderson, 69.

be writ." "By the same oath," said the archbishop, "from my lands and Church not a penny."[1] The King was enraged; Becket had foiled him. I refer to this and similar things not as relating to church rights, but to show Becket's mental character.

Such things were going on from the first; while at the same time the troubles which culminated in the Constitutions of Clarendon (January, 1164) were already brewing. It was left to the contest which followed to furnish the decisive evidence of Becket's character, and to attest his greatness. "Whatever the capricious tyranny of our persecutor may threaten," said Becket in a characteristic way, adapting the language of St. Paul, "yet by God's mercy neither death nor life, nor angels, nor any other creature shall separate us from the love of God, which has caused us this present tribulation." God's enemies "may strain till they burst, they shall never, by Christ's grace, make me deviate from the path of justice." He would "endure exile and proscription forever, and death in a just cause, if it pleased God." Such was Becket's courage and firmness as a leader; and the event proved his sincerity, if proof were needed.[2]

Returning to his legal training, Becket made it clear what his idea of law was. Generalizing the principle he professed, one may put it thus: the basis of all law, human and divine, was morality or conscience, as expressed in the canons of the Church; this must control conduct. Only upon such footing could human law operate equally among men, and all things of providence be considered as "the very own of all folk"; which was to be made true to the extent of Becket's power.[3] Law which violated morals in that sense was self-seeking individualism, to use the modern word; that is, it was discrimination against the many in favor of the few, and turning that which should be servant into master. Becket would say, with the citizens of 1791, there should be one law for all.[4] Becket always empha-

[1] E. Grim in *Select Charters*, 129 (1163); Hutton, 37; Giles, I. 161, 162. The landlords of course compelled the tenants to pay.

[2] Becket's secret flight from Northampton to France (1164) was in pursuance of his own appeal to the pope, and in defiance of the King's requirement of permission by him. It was not cowardice.

[3] Thomas Saga, Hutton, 32; paper on "Medieval English Sovereignty," December, 1917, *Proceedings*, LI.

[4] What Becket could have done, had he lived, in regard to the gifts of providence, "the very own of all folk," touching privilege and inequality of status,

sized the distinction between morals and that which was simply of man's device for self-aggrandizement. Writing to Conrad of Mayence (to give a single, but characteristic instance) about certain ills that had overtaken the Church in Italy, Becket asks in reproach, how it could have happened otherwise seeing that Conrad had always sought for what concerned himself, rather than for the praise of God. Here he touched, as we shall further see, the very point of his opposition to the Constitutions of Clarendon; [1] such of these as were considered to be contrary to the canons (as creating an improper jurisdiction in the secular courts) were so because they were set for the personal aggrandizement of the King or barons.[2] Indeed taking Becket's mode of life as springing from his idea of law, as the Church would justly insist to be a test if not *the* test in all cases, we know that he would have said that law consists in the due control of the lower nature of man by the higher.[3]

Such was the principle upon which law was based. Then, in consequence, comes — I do not say in direct sequence of time, for the foregoing is a summary of a long affair, but there comes before hope is abandoned — a declaration of the realm of law, formally stated. In a letter written in the year 1166 to King Henry, Becket said: "The Church of God consists of two orders, clergy and people. Among the clergy are apostles, apostolic men, bishops and other doctors of the Church, to whom is committed the care and governance of the Church;

I do not venture to consider; that question would be speculative. But in regard to equity the case is different. See *infra*.

[1] Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 137; Hutton, 50, pointing out the articles objected to.

[2] The Constitutions appear to have been the King's way of strengthening himself, by bringing over the barons whom he had at first had to put down. Note the composition of the court; all of the bishops (there were several vacancies) and all of the great barons, by name, the former in fear, the latter elated (Giles, I. 384, 385), for the Church was to lose to King and baronage. It appears to have been as adroit as it was successful; "the King's sword," said Becket (Giles, I. 256), was to oppose the cross, the representative of the moral and enlightened civilization — the lower nature was to gain over the higher. And this, as will appear, without any attack upon canon law itself; did not the King admit that law, by sending the Constitutions to the pope for consideration? But Becket stuck to the very issue of the Constitutions; he never went "outside the record" to deeper questions of conflict between "flesh" and "spirit." This question of the Constitutions was not so radical; the pope was not very ardent and might have allowed the Constitutions but for Becket.

[3] See note, p. 30, *infra*.

who have to perform ecclesiastical business, that the whole may redound to the saving of souls. . . . Among the people are kings, princes, dukes, earls and other powers; who perform secular business, that the whole may conduce to the peace and unity of the Church." [1]

Here was a division both of the realm of law and, in consequence, of administration; law and administration being of necessity alike fundamental.[2] Here for the first time in England is disclosed a system. The two divisions, belonging alike to the Church of God, stood, it is plain, upon an equality within the defined spheres; in rights of government the people were equal to the clergy. "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, unto God the things that are God's." All this followed. The chief difference (so far as the present purpose is concerned) lay in the fact that administration of ecclesiastical law led by right of appeal to Rome, while that of secular law, whatever the theory, was in point of fact purely and finally a matter of the domestic forum. It was only, at the most, on the ground that the domestic authority was encroaching upon the jurisdiction or rights of the Church, as in the case of the Constitutions of Clarendon, or perhaps in the converse case, that secular law was to be reviewed by the authorities of the Church. In intent and purpose canon law was superior to secular law; so Becket always held.[3] But the intent could not at all times be carried out, as Becket would equally have admitted. Secular law, for instance, permitted vengeance, with limitations; it attached guilt to animals and inanimate moving objects; such ideas of

[1] Hutton, 122. So held the founders of Massachusetts. "When a commonwealth hath liberty," said Cotton, "to mould its own frame (*Scripturae plenitudinem adoro*), I conceive the scripture hath given full direction for the right ordering of the same." *Massachusetts and its Early History*, Ellis, 53. See also Judge Parker on the first Charter, *ib.*, 389.

[2] And they must be alike intrusted to earthen vessels, clergy and lay. The division together with the divine basis of law was right then, and always is, but difficulty comes with administration, for that is sure to bring principle into conflict with self-interest, the earthen vessel.

The question, however, of Church and State — whether in temporal affairs the Church is parent or offspring of the State — is speculative. See note at end of this paper.

[3] For instance, in the letter to the King (1166) already referred to, Becket says, "And since it is certain that kings receive their power from the Church, not she from them but from Christ, so . . . you have not the power to give rules to bishops, . . . to draw clerks before secular tribunals," etc.

primitive times still prevailed in the very face of the enlightened canon law of morals. But considered in itself secular law, no less than ecclesiastical law, was divine; it was always divine when founded upon equity and morals. And so Becket could say, "We owe obedience to our lord the King by divine law." [1] It resulted that men, whether lay or clergy, could not make or unmake law, in the final sense; men might supply deficiencies, as time and circumstances required, if the additions were consistent with the divine law; they might regulate, interpret, administer, with the same limitation. Further they could not go without violating God's law; which (to return) was for all men alike, the people as well as the clergy. So are we I think to interpret Becket's part in the conflict over the Constitutions of Clarendon.

And I take it that Becket's contention against the Constitutions was only a special exemplification of his doctrine. A concrete question, slowly developing, had finally taken its own particular form, of a question between Church and State. An emergency to be met at once, and with every resource possible, had arisen. Becket had but come to face and fight a particular aggression upon a general and fundamental principle, which was obscured and lost to the sight of the many by the violence of the controversy. We must penetrate, for that we may, the obscurity, to reach the full meaning of Becket.

I say that the subject of the Constitutions was only a particular, violent instance. The whole controversy, on Becket's side, shows this. Becket always spoke in general terms, even when referring to some immediate object of the fight, such as his own duty to protect property of Canterbury wrongfully taken, or wrongfully kept, by the King. It was with Becket always a question of "equity and justice," as time and again he expressly put it. That was the meaning and equivalent, in

[1] Becket's Letter to the Clergy (1166), Hutton, 145; Giles, I. 360. By submitting the Constitutions to the pope for ratification, the King, as Becket held, admitted the supremacy of the canon law; of which indeed there was other ample evidence. *Ib.*, 263; 231, 232; 317. Letter of the King to the Archbishop of Cologne; *ib.*, 321, 322; letter of the Bishop of London to Pope Alexander.

As a matter of history, however, the old German State was the product of self-seeking individualism, in conquests by military leaders. See *e. g.*, the Franks under Clovis. It was power that dominated, fortune varying accordingly. Ranke, *Papacy*, ed. D'Aubigné, I. 28–33.

terms of law, of the constant and insistent qualification he made in his agreements to the King's demands, "Saving his own order," or "Saving God's honor," a formula which meant that secular law was right if it did not conflict with canon or divine law; that law was universal; the case of the Constitutions fell under it, as one of a thousand cases.

It comes then to this, that Becket's position in regard to the Constitutions put him to the test, and gave him accordingly an occasion of power for stating his whole idea. The contest on his part comes, by reason of its bearings and intensity, to be a portrayal of Becket's whole mind and self in regard to things secular as well as spiritual.

My thesis, I presume, has now become clear. Becket by education and qualities of mind was a collectivist; he would have England governed by morals; he would have the universal rule of equity and justice. Undisciplined individualism was at war with this; it was at war with both the civil and the canon law; it was at war with the laws of God, because it would tear up society.[1] Becket would in theory have *jus honorarium*, the prætorian law,[2] which had finally taken the place at Rome of a narrow, rigid *jus quiritium*. With the later Roman jurists indeed he would no doubt have *jus naturale;* law alike for stranger and citizen, for all men, with equity as the controlling factor, was the kind of law Becket understood and upheld. Rome had outgrown the provincialism of her native, customary law; might not England, we may think of Becket as saying, follow the same course, and bring equity to its place in the administration of justice? Belief that equity, as essentially set forth in the canon law, and as the theory of the later civil law, should prevail, was fundamental with Becket.

There was much at the time to favor and make way for the idea. In the change from Stephen's anarchy to better things, under the strong hand of King Henry, old customs were break-

[1] Even a pagan had said that men exist for the sake of one another, that each individual was but a component part of the whole called society. Becket could not quote Marcus Aurelius, because he was a pagan; or rather because it was better to quote the laws of God.

[2] "(Jus) honorarium dicitur quod ab honore prætoris venerat." Dig. 1, 2, 2, § 10. Equivalent term, "jus gentium," of later Roman law.

ing up; the *jus privatum* — mund right — of the ancient house-father was now spent; the corporate, family right of prosecution and defence, that is, of gain and loss through prosecution of crime and delict by members of the family, was passing away; a criminal law in the modern sense of injured public right, but (because for profit) to be savage and relentless, was at hand; equity was eating into the most ancient remedy of revenge;[1] property rights in land were undergoing change under the newer method of conveyance by feoffment; testamentary power was not far off, its antecedents being already present; contract was a subject of agitation, with every thing to turn upon the result. In a word, the old, native secular law was in the melting pot; what was to come of it no one could tell; but the new secular justice was ready for *jus honorarium* or equity, and Becket was the "bright candlestick" [2] to give the light.

In this state of things the King's attitude towards the landlords is worthy of notice. Disturbers most of them, the barons must be put down, forcibly where force was necessary, peaceably where it was not. To reduce men, whose pretensions had risen so high in the time of Stephen, was to take a long step towards equality. The distractions that prevailed in French feudalism, and were now being repeated in England, could not be permitted to go on under Henry, and his fight and victory over the barons amounted to a fight and victory, so far, for collectivism, and would to the same extent favor the things for which Becket stood. The King was breaking down the fondest hopes of individualism in the baronage; by force, we say, and by peaceful methods. He destroyed its castles; he undermined its money power; he reached for and took its profits in the manor courts, by means of writs and assizes which opened the doors to his officers and judges. New things were to come of this in secular affairs, and the possibilities could not well have escaped the keen eye of the man next the King; "the most influential man in the whole kingdom," said Gervase of Canterbury, "glorious in name, super-eminent in wisdom, the admiration of all men for his nobleness of mind, the terror of his enemies, the friend of the King . . . nay, lord and master of the King

[1] Page 26, *infra*.

[2] William Fitz-Stephen, Becket's secretary (1163).

himself."[1] A commanding figure, in an equally commanding place, with the past yielding, and the present plastic to his very touch, Becket may hold the future of England in his hand. He held the two posts, now the one of chancellor, afterwards the other of Archbishop of Canterbury, which were indispensable to understanding, undertaking and bringing to pass any great reform in secular affairs.

The quotation from Gervase, a contemporary, is of great significance. Becket's masterful influence with the King, down to the special troubles which began after Becket became archbishop (1162), is well attested. It enabled him to bring to bear the power of his legal training and beliefs in the quarter where it could produce the desired effect. Becket's great friend, John of Salisbury, could in the year 1160 truly say that the chancellor cancels unjust laws and tempers, or makes equal (*æqua facit*) — the reference is clearly to equity — the King's mandates;[2] of course with the King's assent. What that would have meant had no breach with the King taken place, one can plainly see.

Of direct significance was the state of things in the courts themselves. The church courts, of which Becket on becoming Archbishop of Canterbury became the head, were of course governed by canon law; which meant that such subjects as the following were of the domain of equity: matrimonial causes, offences of the sexes, breaches of faith, *post mortem* affairs, defamation, and other things. Nor was Roman law unknown in the secular courts; the opposition to it would be sufficient evidence that it was making itself felt. Stephen might silence Vacarius; he could not shut Roman law out of the courts, nor could or would his successors. Glanvill, Chief Justiciar during the latter part of the reign of Henry, writing about the year 1187, refers to it familiarly in his book on Procedure;[3] and

[1] Decem Scriptores, col. 1382. This had already aroused keen jealousy and hatred, as the words "his enemies" indicate. See Hutton, 13, 22, for more definite evidence. Becket's chief clerical enemies were Roger, Archbishop of York, and Foliot, Bishop of London. But without the King they could do nothing.

[2] Giles, I. 99; p. 10, *supra*, note. And in the troubles which afterwards arose, Becket's enemies spoke quite as plainly of Becket's former influence with the King. *Ib.*, 342, letter of the bishops (1166); *ib.*, 381, letter of the Bishop of London to Becket (1166).

[3] See his prologue, "lex sit, quod principi placet et legis habet vigorem," and such a passage as the following: "Crimen quod in *legibus* dicitur crimen lese

Bracton, about the middle of the next century, writing in detail of substantive law, Romanizes, as every one knows, the nomenclature and language of English law, wholesale. Becket would approve of that, and much more; it was of the breath of his nostrils. And the civil courts were manned chiefly by clergy of high rank educated of course in Roman law, though royalist for obvious reasons, in case any difference arose.

Moreover the way was partly prepared for Becket; the principle of *jus honorarium* — the principle of equity — actually and actively prevailed to considerable extent in the secular courts of the time. It probably was general before the adoption (by Henry II) of the writ process and the substitution by the King of his own staff of judges for the doomsmen of ancient custom. These doomsmen had been of the body of the townfolk — their own men — having special knowledge of local custom and law, but having little or no knowledge of any distinction between law and equity; all with them was custom and dooms, and equity more or less was in each.[1] And this continued to be true after the Norman Conquest in all questions of ancient folkright such as title to property found by testimony of the neighborhood, regardless of the feudal ceremony of livery. That is, equity continued [2] long after the general introduction of feudal tenures created by livery of seisin. This was true in the royal courts themselves.

Striking evidence is found in the legality of estates in land held *ad opus;* that is, in lands conveyed by livery, according to feudal law, but conveyed to the feoffee in trust. The records are clear in support of the binding nature of the trust, in the secular as well as in the ecclesiastical courts, until at last the

majestatis." Lib. 1, c. 2. So too *fur manifestus. Placita Anglo-Normannica,* 260.

[1] The difference between custom and dooms was the difference between hard and fast writing and oral and more flexible tradition; a most important difference, as Matilda as well as Becket and the bishops saw. Matilda and they said that the Constitutions should not have been put into writing; plainly meaning that as tradition they might have been equitably observed. Hutton, 104. There was more play of equity without the writing; the chancellor could *temper* the case more easily. Page 17, *supra.* So Becket balked completely and refused his seal to the writing. Hutton, 59; Giles, 1. 220, 221. Writing would turn the doubted customs into dooms.

[2] See a valuable article on other lines by George B. Adams, on the "Continuity of English Equity." *Yale Law Journal,* May, 1917.

effect came home to the landlords. Two or three illustrations may be given.

In the time of William the Conqueror, Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, demanded against the Abbot of Evesham extensive rights of service, much beyond those due merely to the relation created by feoffment, in respect of lands by the latter. The abbot denied that the services were due; but the bishop was able to bring witnesses who, in the time of King Edward, had seen and undertaken the services in question *ad opus* of the bishop; and he prevailed, the King's writ of execution declaring that the abbot held all the lands claimed by the bishop *ad meum opus et suum*.[1]

Among many cases in Doomsday Book (1086) the following may be mentioned, as coming before the royal commissioners:

Men of a certain shire testify that Edric, tenant by livery (*tenebat*) of the Manor of Spersold, delivered (*deliberavit*) it to his son, to hold it to farm, giving him (Edric) from the land so long as he lived, the necessaries of life.[2] Again, the Church at Wilton held two hides in the preceding reign, which T. had given to it, out of which his two daughters were to be supported.[3] The neighborhood, in another case, testify that certain lands which William de Percy holds he holds *ad opus* of Robert Malet.[4] So of lands held by Roger de B.; they were held *ad opus* of William de Warren.[5]

In the reign of Rufus the King issued a writ in which he said that lands which were in the hands of certain persons named had been given by the King *ad opus* of the Church of St. Benet, and that the original writs to that effect were in the treasury.[6] A century later, in the year 1200 (1 John) Harlewin complained of William his landlord that William had entered his (Harlewin's) fee and cut down and carried off trees. William answered that his ancestors had enfeoffed Harlewin's ancestors of the woodland in question *ad opus suum*, and that Harlewin (and his ancestors because of relationship) had been *suffered* to take

[1] *Placita Anglo-Normannica*, 17–19. The court was composed of "counties and barons," assembled by command of the King.

[2] *Ib.*, 39, *Doomsday*, I. 59.

[3] *Placita Anglo-Normannica*, 39; *Doomsday*, I. 68.

[4] *Placita*, 51.

[5] *Ib.*, 52; *Doomsday*, II. 12, "*terra . . . ad opus regis.*"

[6] *Placita*, 72.

such wood as was needed. A jury was now to try the question of right, that is, whether Harlewin held the woodland by mere sufferance.[1]

Cases of the kind continue until about the middle of the reign of Henry III, when, except in case of gifts to the use of the Church,[2] they cease; probably because of the awakened sense and pressure of the landlords, whose feudal rights were gone if tenants could in effect put their lands out of their hands in favor of persons not bound by the feudal tie.[3] There was no other reason than feudalism for excluding evidence of the trust, as is shown by the fact that there was no such restriction in regard to personalty; money for instance held by a steward for the lord of the manor. Indeed trusts in land were valid before feudalism came into existence; they are good by *Lex Salica*.[4] Trust was a native idea of the law.

The point of all this is, that in Becket's time, and before and after, the secular courts dealt normally with matters of conscience in regard to property, and were only stopt, when at last they were stopt, by feudalism's waking up to the effect, in a temporary reaction. The right had probably come down from the time, before the Conquest, when churchmen sat regularly in the secular courts, there to give advice in matters of good faith, conscience and malice — in all things pertaining to states of mind in the trial of causes. This was of course in accord with the canon law. Becket had himself no doubt had to deal with such cases, both as chancellor and as archbishop, for they were common enough.

The only interruption of the course of equity, in matters of property, was caused by the writ process; and that was itself amenable to equity for a whole century from the time of

[1] *Rot. Cur. Reg.* II. 120.

[2] Especially to the Franciscans, a "poor" order. See *History of English Law*, I. 229, 235, where the inquiry did not go far enough.

[3] The later statute of *Quia Emptores* could not help matters, for estates *ad opus* were not subinfeudations; there was no livery of seisin to the beneficiary, and livery created the tie.

[4] Title 46. 5th century. See too Gaius, II. 103. So of equity in general, *e. g.*, the *nexti cantichio*, or requirement of performance of *fidem facere*. *Lex Sal.*, tit. 50. Further, of Anglo-Norman times, see *History of Procedure*, 19, 20, 42, 53, 71, 72, 192–196; some of these cases being in the Ecclesiastical Court. Indeed the whole family estate — *res familia* — of primitive Aryan times was a trust.

Becket. But the landlords, as we have seen, finally realized the effect upon them and shut out trusts from the secular courts; with the result that it became necessary, a century and a half later, to create a new court, the Court of Chancery, which should speak where the old courts were compelled to keep silent. And thereafter law and equity must be in competition and conflict. It is true that the landlords might still have gained their point and have ousted trusts even had Roman law been adopted in formal terms in the reign of Henry II; but it is hardly necessary to say that danger of the success of self-seeking, which is always present in affairs of life, cannot detract from any credit Becket might have gained by his own correct statement of principle. And no one can say that the rule of equity in general, well launched by the support of the King, with the aid of the people whom Becket, himself one of them, would have brought to it, would not have proved strong enough to maintain itself against the individualism of a gentry weakened by the change. But it is enough to say that Becket held that the canon law was superior to all secular law in conflict with it; that was of course the very point of his opposition to the Constitutions of Clarendon; and that was equity.

Becket's following by the people, to which I have alluded, should not be passed by. The bulk of the population were with Becket in spontaneous admiration and affection;[1] they constituted a collective mind of the sincerest nature. In the state which actually prevailed that may not have had more influence in bringing to pass the desirable result than the other things spoken of; probably it had no influence at all upon the result; but it would lend courage to Becket, and ensure the cause if he should succeed.

Such were the factors favoring Becket and making clear what a man of his training and character would do. The evidence shows that he would have the essential feature or spirit of canon law, equity, everywhere — in the secular as well as in the church courts. I do not say the canon law bodily — that was for the church courts; nor do I say, the civil law of *jus honorarium* bodily, but the spirit of each, which would regard the

[1] Fitz-Stephen, Giles, I. 52: "The popularity of the chancellor was excessive, whether among the clergy, soldiers or people." (1159.) See *ib.*, 57.

human mind as the measure of conduct in the administration of secular law. That spirit, incarnated in Becket in the post of power, had had full sway for more than eight years, so far as the difference in what lawyers call the subject matter permitted; a difference far too great to permit any bodily substitution of foreign law.

But clouds, slowly gathering in the past, were now rapidly darkening the air, and Becket, not unexpectedly, was turned from the course he would otherwise have gladly and earnestly followed: the Constitutions of Clarendon (January, 1164) were at hand. To that subject I must now call special consideration — a consideration leading to what, so far as I know, has not before received attention.

The contest over the Constitutions was of course a contest between Church and State; that lies on its face. But that means that it was a contest over jurisdiction, as the historians generally say, though further, as I pointed out in my former paper, over sovereignty. I pass by the latter subject, and speak only of the former. The implication arising has been overlooked. Jurisdiction is not a matter of law or of morals [1] between man and man, but of the class of men, or the district, over which the law is to operate; which brings out the particular fact to be noticed touching the Constitutions. With the exception of a single article, the last one, there is nothing in the provisions relating to law itself; there could therefore be no difference between the opposing sides on any such ground. The only question with the bishops was, how the "garments" should be "parted" between the church and the secular courts. With Becket, the "seamless robe" of Christ was being torn asunder.

No difference, I say, divided the King and Becket in regard to law.[2] No objection whatever was raised by the King or by

[1] "There is no schism of faith or of morals between us," said Foliot, Bishop of London. Giles, I. 392, 393.

[2] Becket's opposition to turning over the criminous clerks to the lay courts after degradation by the church courts, on the ground that this would be double punishment (Giles, I. 162), does not contradict this statement. Whether such treatment of the offenders was double punishment had long been a contested question; which was later decided by Innocent III in the negative — it was single punishment in two parts. See *History of English Law*, I. 437, 438. Becket

his party to Becket's view of that matter. The King had appointed Becket out of the very house of learning in Roman law, as his chancellor, and had secured his election as archbishop, having full knowledge of, and of course in sympathy with, Becket's life and education. There were, it is true, differences between canon law and English secular law, as (a little later determined) in regard to legitimation by subsequent marriage;[1] but no question on that point or any other difference of law was raised by the Constitutions. The last article indeed, of the Constitutions, as already intimated, declared a rule of law; the sons of rustics, that is, villeins, were not to be ordained without consent of their landlords. Becket, as a son of the people[2] — the King had said he was a son of one of his (the King's) villeins — probably opposed this.[3] How far he was right in the law is not for me to say, for I have no knowledge of canon law to justify me in speaking; but it is proper even for a non-expert to point out that the contemporary Decretum of Gratian, the famous publication of canon law, merely declares that slaves (*servi*), not the villeins, are not to be ordained without consent of their masters.[4] However that may be, the article in question was apparently considered of minor importance, for it was to receive no specific mention in the controversy. The subject is left then, so far as this discussion is concerned, where it would have been without the article.

It comes then to this: certain half-dozen of the fifteen articles were condemned on the grounds of jurisdiction;[5] there was no serious disagreement of substantive law in regard to

could only *argue* the point — a point of interpretation or meaning of the law. The law itself was the same in both courts; its meaning to this day is in doubt — when is a man twice in jeopardy for the same cause?

[1] Pope Alexander's Extravagant in the year 1172; Glanvill, Lib. 7, c. 15, that it is not law in England. The reason why the landlords opposed this canon law is plain, for who was safe if that law prevailed? But the King could be indifferent, for he had no love of feudalism, with its pulling apart. The King would have a shepherd's crook.

[2] Giles, I. 359.

[3] *Proceedings*, II. 154, note 1.

[4] Tit. XVIII. c. 2, II. col. 156 Richter ed. The Decretum was completed in the year 1151, being a collection of papal laws. Corp. Jur. Can. Becket probably sat as a pupil under Gratian.

[5] See as to the articles condemned, Becket's Letter to the Bishops, Giles, I. 336, 337, 409, and marked in Hutton, 52–58, on the excommunications.

these articles; and of course there was none at all in regard to the others.

The effect of the Constitutions on the purse was the question. What the King wanted was money, the sinews of a soldier. He would have had no interest in the matter if no difference in that respect had been likely to arise. The contention on the one side was for morals, conscience, equity; on the other it was for downright military, personal profit. Becket wanted canon law; the King had no quarrel with that in itself — he had himself acted upon it.[1] The distinction made by equity, the distinction between the subjective and the objective, did not become clear until the following century, when the landlords came fully to realize that if equity prevailed they were lost. The King only insisted that canon law, or equity, should not be extended to fields which were to furnish funds for him. The King did not stand in Becket's way; Becket stood in the King's way. It was not Becket's law, but Henry's ambition, that defeated Becket and killed him.

In the middle of the 12th century England stood at the parting of the ways. She might have collectivism or individualism, with a great leader in either case ready for the decision; a decision which was to determine the history of England from that time to this. An emergency put an end to England's better hope, upon an issue that was not vital.

It was the particular need calling for action against the criminous clerks that brought on the disaster. Had the Church dealt then with its own criminals with a strong hand,[2] or had the "reconciliation" of Freitval (July, 1170)[3] been sincere on the part of the King, the way for Becket would have been cleared. But jurisdiction was to be fought out; for what might not come next?[4] Becket as Archbishop of Canterbury could

[1] In sending the Constitutions to the pope for ratification.

[2] The Church could deal with such persons with sufficient severity if it would. "Concerning Adam, the forger," wrote Pope Alexander, "our reply is, that you deprive him immediately, whether present or absent, of every ecclesiastical office or benefice forever; and if he ever returns into the country, you will arrest him and place him in the monastery to spend the remainder of his days in solitary confinement." Giles, II. 187. That was the sentence canon law passed upon clerical offenders for the greater crimes. *Ib.*, 164; Herbert of Bosham.

[3] Hutton, 210; Giles, I. 273.

[4] "We have too long borne with our lord the King. . . . For the rest, it is dangerous any longer to tolerate the excesses which he commits in his treatment

not abandon his fold to the wolves. The pity of it is, that the great moral idea of establishing the rule of equity in secular affairs was to be caught and broken on the wheel of an issue which did not involve the existence of church authority and should never have arisen — broken beyond prospect of recovery; for no Englishman appeared or was to appear, after Becket, to take up the cause, with his vision and ability and so much to favor what he stood for. England was to "muddle" along in such way as selfish individualism from time to time suggested, until muddling should come to be defended as the proper way. And England might have had Becket.

> "Had he reigned ten years
> His name had been for aye The Great Reformer."[1]

I should add in the realm of secular law.[2]

Whether Becket's legal collectivism, I mean his mere idea of law, once fully adopted, would have become permanent no one can say; but this is clear: if permanent, it would have changed for the better the whole course of legal history in England. A glance will suffice.

Note the criminal law of the secular courts; what that was

of the Church and of ecclesiastics." Becket's Letter to the Bishops (1166), Giles, I. 336. See also Letter to the Pope (1165), Giles, I. 300, 301.

[1] St. Thomas of Canterbury, Aubrey de Vere. But the plain story is more eloquent than panegyric.

[2] Where Becket's convictions would have led him on deeper questions that arose in later times, whether he would still have held out for the pope and objective unity, or would have given up objective unity and stood with the reformers for moral or subjective unity, one cannot say; there is no sufficient evidence. Such an issue had not arisen. "Blessed be God," said Becket's enemy, Foliot, Bishop of London, "there is no schism of faith between us, no question about the holy sacraments, nor of morals." Giles, I. 392, 393. Letter to Becket. But upon questions of his time, Becket found no such difficulty; no thought arose in his mind of trouble over the papacy itself — that was the accepted bond of unity, accepted by the King himself. The only question that could arise was in regard to the *place* of the papacy, the question in the Constitutions of Clarendon. That could not be vital; Henry's victory did not hurt the Church as a moral force. But Becket might well think the Constitutions the beginning, as he did, of things that *were* vital; hence his unbending opposition. The pope did not consider that any vital issue was raised, and at first wished Becket to yield. Giles, I. 215, 216, 233–235, 325–326. Nor of course did the clergy who opposed Becket consider any thing vital in question. Giles, I. 323, Bishop of London to Pope Alexander. The pope's attempt in 1166 to bring about a reconciliation between Becket and the King is further evidence. Hutton, 176, Letter by the pope to Becket.

and continued to be within living memory everyone knows, and I need only say that had Becket's idea prevailed, that blot on the page of history would not have appeared and the middle ages would not have been put to shame. Instead of making profit out of crime, the King and all men would have found it to be a wrong to society, to be dealt with accordingly. Instead of regarding the body [1] as the agent in wrong-doing, and so requiring mutilations and horrid forms of capital punishment, this barbarity would have given place to punishments which could have been defended, as looking to the state of mind — to the man — and dealing with the body to that end only. There was thus, as Becket pointed out, a "gulf" between the canon and the secular law in this respect;[2] a gulf widened by cupidity.[3] What melioration there was, was due to nearness of the canon law, knowledge of its punishments, and the fact that the judges in the secular courts were mostly churchmen. Canon law, for instance, drew such distinction as was made in the temporal courts in regard to homicide. By canon law, as Becket pointed out, crime turned upon the intent. Thus, said Becket, "if one commit homicide unwillingly, though he is called a homicide and is one, yet he does not incur the guilt of homicide." [4] And that, I take it — the relation of the state of mind to the act — was the principle, according to Becket, upon which human conduct generally should be treated in the administration of justice. That I suppose amounted to equity; [5] and, I repeat, there was no fight between Becket and the King on that subject, or on any serious question of law not touching funds.

But supposing, what does not appear in the contest over the

[1] Or any other moving object, animate or inanimate.

[2] Giles, I. 49, 371; *ib.*, 164, 187.

[3] The King being entitled to all the property of the criminal, succeeding to the ancient family right.

[4] Giles, I. 360. Such was the modification of the process of revenge, which the Church brought about; it was, as has already been said, equity eating into that ancient process — a process in which the family pursuing was its own judge of the case; *that* was the starting point in the history of law, its furthest outpost.

[5] When law deals with all relevant facts, subjective as well as objective, is that not equity, though the cause be crime or tort, as well as when it is trust? Was that not the essence of Roman equity? Were not the rigid, native requirements treated by the prætor as unconscionable exclusion of good men from the protection of law?

Constitutions, that the King did object to law which Becket would have, that would only raise one's estimate of Becket. He had taken his stand; he would not be moved by any obstacle. His fight against the Constitutions is sufficient evidence of that. He held and would still hold that equity should be administered in all courts of justice, since it dealt with the very self of responsibility, and anything short of that would be paganism. The fight would be the harder if the King opposed; but to find man opposing the divine will was the very thing the Church had always to assail. Becket would have flung himself all the more into the conflict.

And now to return to changes, what shall be said of contract, that commonest and most necessary of things in life? Could one, in the absence of evidence, be brought to believe that there was no true doctrine of contract in the secular courts of the middle (by which I mean Norman and sub-Norman) period of English legal history? Lawyers know that there was none; that is the first thing a law student learns, at least it was the first thing I had to learn — but did not. A makeshift, an interminable web of subtle and useless refinements and distinctions, in which justice was hopelessly ensnared, to the delight of sophists then, and of antiquaries now, took the place of profound common-sense. The secular courts were forever discussing and dealing in technicalities concerning matters of mere form — debt, covenant, oral promise, misfeasance and nonfeasance, and all the rest; until finally, after centuries of wandering in the wilderness of speculation, they worked out a notion of contract, in which we are living today, as arising, not out of the plain and (by the Romans at least) sacred fact of promise, but remotely out of wrongs — things *ex delicto*.[1]

[1] The canon and civil law treated breach of faith, which included contract, as sin, quasi criminal, but did not derive contract from delict; breach of contract *was* delict, and of the strictest sort. In Roman life Fides was a divinity greatly revered both in public and in private affairs. Aul. Gell. xx. i. 39. Her seat was said to have been in the right hand. See also Ed. Chilp. c. 6 (Merkel, *Lex Sal.* 77), promise — "cum dextra [manu] auferat." Sohm, *Process*, 81. And our modern oath with uplifted right hand. Was the physical hand clasp at Rome a symbol of the mental *promittere* or promise? Probably it was. See Muirhead, *Law of Rome*, 22, 50, 142, 165.

One result of the difference between Roman and English law may be seen in the legal doctrine of consideration, with all its subtleties; by church and civil law, consideration had its weight; by English law, contract was a matter of form,

"But 'twas a famous victory," this final winning of contract from tort.

And on the side of delict or tort the same sort of thing was going on; with the Roman law of *culpa*, for instance, at hand and fully developed, for general guidance, it was not until the 19th century that there can be said to have been a doctrine of negligence; and still the doctors disagree over the theory.[1] Meantime the judges had been at first going no further than to say, that if a man undertook a thing, such as to ferry goods across a stream, or to thatch a roof, and actually began it, he ought to do it properly, not negligently; but if he undertook it and did nothing, what then? Oh, it was perhaps only *parolz*, no "specialty" — nothing in a word, but rubbish.

All this long-drawn-out waste, when questions of life and liberty as well as property were in the balance. The Church was near, with its plain ideas of faith, of "equity and justice," actually proceeding, so far as permitted, in a straightforward way of enforcing promises. And so the answer to secular forms of justice is to be put as before — England might have had *jus honorarium* for theory, instead of the slough into which she was to slip.

The writ process as understood in the 13th century finally drove equity out of the common law courts; that is, whatever remained of it in matters, chiefly of property, in which writs of the King were used for instituting actions in those courts. I say nothing of the Council with its almost unlimited power, as not specially bearing upon my theme; the Council had always existed, but no general policy touching law was ever in terms formulated by it — nothing such as I am speaking of, except that, by its action in the Provisions of Oxford (1258),[2] it restrained the use of new writs, action which only hastened the destiny of modern equity.

The King's writ, clever device of a skilful commander, virtually determined the law touching the right to be asserted under it, and the way was now blocked to everything else,

and is so still for special purposes; so it was by *jus quiritium*, but by prætorian law contract was in itself of *jus honorarium*, of conscience.

[1] There was of course disagreement among the Romans, but it was not about fundamentals; the *theory* was settled on common subjects.

[2] *History of Procedure*, 197, 198.

unless, what seldom happened (so difficult and expensive was the undertaking), Parliament or Council could be induced to interfere. And so, I say, equity was put out of the common law courts. With what result? The situation became intolerable, and all kinds of devices were being invented to avoid the rigidity of the law; until at last, about the end of the 14th century, the Chancellor of England, with the King's sanction, made as a stop-gap a court of himself, to be called the Court of Chancery. This was intended, among other things, to rejuvenate a bankrupt equity, particularly with regard to trusts; it was to be a court of conscience, founded on the canon law and manned until later times by ecclesiastics. So it was to take off some of the work of the Council and of Parliament.

All this is familiar enough even to laymen, and need not have been said but for the emphasis it bears upon the calamity which befell England when Becket was foiled and defeated — under that unfortunate issue. Confusion was certain to follow and increase; confusion immediate, and more confusion finally. The courts of the land were tied hand and foot, apparently with their own consent — did they not decline to be released? [1] — tied, I say, to rigid law, to the language of writs; *jus honorarium* was impossible. The Court of Chancery was the only remedy; and now, from that time until the last quarter of the 19th century, England, followed by America and English-speaking lands generally, was to be witness to the marvel of judges of rival courts flinging jurisdictional fictions at each other with all the effect of reality.[2] And that was to go on until, in America at least, *severance* of justice was to come to be considered fundamental and hence unavoidable, if not desirable.

I have but glanced at one or two phases of the English law in the middle and modern period, but they are as characteristic as they are outstanding. I have had in mind particularly the subject of equity, as rightly making a normal and fundamental part of the law. The courts should always have been able to administer justice in whatsoever way the facts of a cause, sub-

[1] The Stat. Westm. 2, c. 24, giving actions "on the case," was narrowly construed by the judges to be helped by it, if they would.

[2] The Commons in early times held that the entire jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery was fictitious; the State alone could create courts.

jective as well as objective, as they developed, should suggest. It should never have been necessary to create a court which should have a monopoly of conscience. In a word, there should have been no division of courts, and there would have been none if legal collectivism had prevailed. All courts should have had equity powers, and would have had them if the great opportunity had not been allowed to pass. Theory might have been settled, to steady affairs of the law — to give solidarity to the law; of course no action could be expected to settle questions of detail, or doubts to arise under unknown change of conditions in the future. But equity, not to go further, is fundamental.

The Judicature Acts (1873, 1875) took a long step in the right way, but they should have been unnecessary. The step should have been taken in the reign of Henry Plantagenet. Thomas of Canterbury had the mind and the courage to take it, but an untimely issue of jurisdiction turned him away and slew him; still he fell, and lives, a mighty prophet of the doctrine that law is founded in morals, in the sense that mind, the direct cause of conduct, must be the true measure of responsibility, in secular as well as in religious government. Recognition of this doctrine is steadily gaining ground.[1]

[1] Taking equity as normal, it follows that Benthamism, or utilitarianism, which would look only to effects or consequences rather than to mind as cause (of course it was not denied that mind was cause) was a counter-current, or reactionary. It gained momentum in the latter part of the nineteenth century, but (apart from statute and contract) appears now to be on the wane as a principle of liability. No rule of law can shut out mind as the responsible cause of conduct. That men exist for the sake of one another, that is, for the sake of society, does not make the test of liability solely objective; society is only collectivism founded on self-discipline, which, for the present purpose, is *equity*.

On the whole subject, Mr. Brooks Adams calls my attention to St. Paul and Romans, VII. The old native law, or self-seeking individualism, is the "flesh" warring with enlightened law and equity as the "spirit," or legal and moral collectivism. So Thomas Aquinas in the 13th century (a slip may be noticed in d'Aubigné's translation of Aquinas, Ranke's *Papacy*, I. 506, note), and later Churchmen in general on the relation of soul and body — *e. g.*, Cardinal Bellarmine, with Paul Sarpi of Venice drawing the opposite inference as to Church and State — referred to at length by Ranke, *ut supra* and at pp. 615–620. There can be no permanent bridging of the two ideas of the soul and the flesh; but there should be unity in law and morals — of the soul itself in its moral function — to include the point reached by Roman *jus honorarium*. This is no question of Church and State; the relation of soul and body being no more than a disputed and very doubtful analogy.

Alexander Grant to Patrick Grant, 1840.

The following letter has been presented to the Society by Judge Grant. This Alexander was son of John and Elizabeth (Whyte) Grant of Leith, and was one of six brothers who engaged in commerce in widely separated parts of the world. Alexander (b. 1769), as is shown, was in St. Petersburg, Russia, Isaac (b. 1770) in Leghorn, Italy, Charles (b. 1775) in London and John (b. 1779) at Genoa. A fourth, Patrick (b. 1777), came to America as the agent of Grants and Balfour of London, Genoa and Leghorn, houses established by his brothers Isaac and John. In 1807 he married as his second wife Anna Powell Mason, daughter of Hon. Jonathan Mason, United States Senator from Massachusetts, 1800–1803. It was to his son Patrick (b. 1809), that this letter is written.

Alexander Grant to Patrick Grant.

St. Petersburg, 10th/22d March, 1840.

My dear Nephew,

I don't know whether you are aware of, and sincerely hope you do not inherit, a propensity characteristick of our family — I myself, the unworthy head, possessing my full share of it — to that "thief of time," procrastination. To that alone I pray you to attribute my having thus long deferred expressing the gratification I experience at receiving a letter the whole tone and tenour of which confirms the opinion I had formed of the head and heart of the writer, from personal communication with others. Besides your friend Mr. Tappan, I had the pleasure of hearing of you from a Mr. and Mrs. Bates, the latter, I understood, an intimate friend of your dear mother, on which account we were very desirous of cultivating their acquaintance, but were unfortunately prevented from doing so by the illness of Mrs. B. and *my* Mrs. at the same time, while they remained here, subsequently to my forming their acquaintance. Not so was the case with another of your townsmen, a Mr. Sumner,[1] of whose company we had enough and to spare. He is the very Coryphaeus of "inquisitive travellers" — his

[1] George Sumner (1817–1863), a younger brother of Charles Sumner. Some letters from him are in *Proceedings*, XLVI. 341.

thirst of information, certainly, very commendable; but, really, his enquiries so minute and their objects so multifarious, that he became at last rather a *bore*. I hear he has been traced to Constantinople, and means to extend his tour to Egypt, in which case I should not at all wonder if he gets introduced to Mohamet himself, and (who knows?) have a finger in the pie in those negotiations which appear to puzzle the brains of all *European* diplomatists; for, I assure you, he has a knack at gaining favor with the mighty ones of the earth. During the grand reviews in this neighbourhood, he mounted a hack and got introduced to the grand Duke Michael,[1] the Emperor's brother, whom he very unceremoniously asked to introduce him to the latter,[2] and who, amused with the oddity of the application, consented, and called in as interpreters the Empress [3] and her daughters. They talked a great deal about America, and, among other things, one of the grand dutchesses asked him whether it was possible that there were no *servants* there, to which he replied, *holding up his finger* (his own account of the affair) "Ah, *Miss*, I see you have been reading mother Trollope"! One thing I learnt from him which gave me great pleasure, which was, that his brother, a schoolfellow of yours, had told him you were an excellent classical scholar. I hope you do not lose what you have learnt, as your two older cousins have, I am sorry to say, done almost completely; but, on the contrary, keep daily adding to your store. I can bear testimony to the truth of what Cicero says on this subject (I am not sure that I quote exactly) "Haec studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium praebent" etc'a. I proceed to answer your kind enquiries about your *Russian* relations. Your Aunt is almost literally so, having been born in Mosco, and, at ten years old, known no other language than Russ and French — though she subsequently exchanged both for *Scotch-English*. Fortunately *I* have not quite forgotten that dialect; so that, in this, as in other, respects, we have contrived to keep up a tolerably good *understanding*, during a union of twenty-eight years. Your

[1] Michael-Paulowitz (1798–).
[2] Nicholas I (1796–1855).
[3] Frederica-Louise-Charlotte-Wilhelmina, daughter of Frederick William III of Prussia.

male cousins are four in number — all, I am glad to say, well conducted, industrious and high-minded fellows. Two of them are quill-drivers in eminent mercantile houses here and I hope, in time, may get on, tho' promotion is not so rapid now a days as in my time. I had three offers of partnership the moment my apprenticeship expired. The two younger are at Glasgow, learning the business of civil-engineering. They had both a strong desire for the sea, but fortunately got the better of it, and *lowered* their ambition to becoming Watts or Arkwrights instead of Howes, Nelsons, or, if you will, Porters. It is a hard life — they work like common men from 6 in the morning till the same hour in the evening, and come home "begrimed and black" as Othello's face — all for nothing too; for, instead of receiving wages, they pay a premium and live at their own expence. However it is a famous career, and I look upon the outlay as "casting bread upon the waters, which will return after many days." Our girls [1] are allowed on all hands to be the flower of the English colony here — in mind, manners and appearance. The eldest has had several offers of marriage, as *I* thought, eligible ones; but she is rather fastidious — perhaps I should say too conscientious to give her hand without her heart; and it is a point upon which I think any exercise of parental authority misplaced. I hope, as they say these matters are settled in heaven, that the predestined for both may soon be forthcoming; for, at my time of life, I am naturally anxious to see them settled before I am called away. Thank God, I enjoy perfect health as yet, better even than I did 25 years ago, but still, as the Duke of Norfolk said, my lease is out and I am but a tenant at will. I may say all I have about these wenches, without the imputation of any *sinister* designs upon you, as a bird has flown across the Atlantic which has chirped that *your* matrimonial lot is cast. This is as it ought to be. I *guess* you are just about the age when domestic enjoyment ought to take place of the dissipation of youth; and, from what I have heard of your fair intended, you have every prospect of happiness. Much indeed should I enjoy an opportunity of witnessing it, and of making the personal acquaintance of a family in which I have always taken a great interest — but

[1] Eliza and Mary. Mary married a Mr. Gwyer.

that is past praying for. I am more likely to pass the Styx than the Atlantick. Some of my sons may be more fortunate, perhaps those in business may be sent by their employers to *beat the St. Petersburg march* for correspondents in the States, and the engineers may also be induced to emigrate to so fine a field for their exertions. I had accounts lately *of* my Italian *fratelli* — direct intercourse with them has, I am sorry to say, been long suspended; for on a visit, many years ago, to Italy, I cannot say I found, either in Florence or Leghorn, a *Philadelphia*. Poor Isaac has been, sometime, all but blind, from a cataract for which I hear he has lately gone to undergo the operation of couching at Vienna. In the meantime he enjoys excellent health, and, as usual in such cases, by a kind dispensation, remarkably chearful in spirits. *Don Giovanni* seems quite happy in his somewhat anomalous ménage — his wife second only to Malibran, as a singer, but I rather fear, a vox et praeterea nihil. By the way, I got all this information from a man who, I think, said he had known you, a Count Baciochi who, during his stay here, was quite faufilé chez nous, and afforded us great amusement — more or less of a *buffone*, but on the whole, gentlemanly enough. He came here on a business which will sound odd to republican ears, namely to obtain the *emperor's consent* to the marriage of one of his subjects with the daughter of Jerome Buonaparte,[1] the renegade husband of your Miss Paterson.

We have heard nothing for a long time of your (I believe) former chum, Elliott Smith. He is established at Havre, and, I dare say, doing well, having come into a little property at his father's death, to begin with, and, along with it, inheriting a good portion of that "saving grace" which was a prominent feature of the jolly old father's character. At all events, I rejoice at his (and your) having betimes got out of that sink of iniquity and grave of all right feeling — Italy.

By the kindness of Mr. Chew,[2] the American chargé d'af-

[1] Jerome Bonaparte's wife, Catherine Frederica, of Würtemberg, died in 1835. Their daughter, Mathilde-Lætitia-Wilhelmina, born at Triest, May 27, 1820, married November 1, 1840, Count Anatole Demidoff (1812–1870), from whom she separated in 1845.

[2] William W. Chew of Pennsylvania. He was Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg, 1837–1841, and was succeeded by John Lothrop Motley. Chew was under George M. Dallas, then Minister.

faires, I am enabled to send this free of postage; and that being the case, I take the liberty of troubling you with the inclosed to a very old friend of mine in Canada, and of desiring him to send his answer thro' you, to be forwarded by any of your Captains coming this way.

Having thus made up — at greater length than you may have found amusing — for past neglect, I beg, in conclusion, to say, that I shall be most happy to hear occasionally of yourself and your amiable mother and sister, with kindest remembrance to whom in which I am joined by all my family, I remain your affectionate uncle,

A. W. Grant.

N.B. The same individual whom you will have heard designated as *Alex'r* only. I assumed the initial of my second Xian name (Why?) when I lived in London to distinguish myself from numerous namesakes of the Clan there dwelling.

[Endorsed] Patrick Grant, Esq., Boston, U. S.
[In another hand] Recv'd and forw'd by Yours etc. J. J. Bedr — N. Y. Ma[il].

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. Storer, Rhodes, and Winship.

MEMOIR

OF

ARTHUR THEODORE LYMAN

By CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT.

Arthur Theodore Lyman (Harvard A. B. 1853) was born in Boston, December 8th, 1832, and died in Waltham, October 24th, 1915. His inheritances were varied and interesting. His great-grandfather Isaac Lyman was minister at York, Maine, for sixty years; but the diary of this long-lived Congregational minister shows that he took quite as much interest in the medical problems of the day as he did in the functions of a parish minister. His grandfather Theodore Lyman, son of Isaac, started young in business with nothing but his character and his diligence, and became one of the richest merchants in Boston, trading mostly with the Far East. Theodore Lyman's own education having been scanty, he became a well-informed man through reading and the wise conduct of a growing business and an expanding family and social life. He sent his three sons to Harvard College. When he had acquired wealth, he resolved to create a fine country estate at Waltham with all the customary adjuncts of an English gentleman's estate; and to this pleasant and instructive task he devoted much time and study during the latter half of his life. This estate descended to his oldest son George Williams Lyman (Harvard A. B. 1806), and from George to his third son Arthur Theodore Lyman, the subject of this sketch. The care and proper development of this estate, with its woods, fields, greenhouses, gardens, live-stock, roads, paths, brook, and pond were Arthur Theodore Lyman's chief occupation, apart from his business activities, from youth to age. His family life centred there. Two of his married sisters had their country houses on the estate; and his oldest son Arthur (Harvard A. B. 1883) has now inherited it.

Arthur T. Lyman

The principal house on the estate has therefore belonged to four successive generations in the male line — a rare happening in American society.

The business career of Arthur Theodore Lyman resembled in certain respects that of his father George. Both began with the East Indian trade, the main business of George's father Theodore Lyman; and both were diverted after comparatively few years to the great cotton manufacturing industry of New England. Between 1860 and 1915 Arthur was director, treasurer, or president of a large number of manufacturing and financial companies. Educational and religious institutions, such as Harvard University, the Boston Athenæum, King's Chapel, and the American Unitarian Association, also received from him long and assiduous service. He was a member of the vestry of King's Chapel for fifty-two years, and Senior Warden for thirty-eight years. Hospitals and unsectarian charitable societies commanded his habitual support. He was very diligent in business, possessed a sound judgment and much public spirit, and therefore carried weight among business associates, and educational, religious, and charitable workers. He was independent in thought and firm of purpose, but also sympathetic, kindly, generous, and just. His wife Ella Lowell bore seven children of whom six survive; so that he was surrounded in his age by a large and happy group of children and grandchildren.

His life illustrates admirably the New England ideal of a fortunate, quiet, conservative, honorable, and useful private citizen.

MEMOIR

OF

ABNER CHENEY GOODELL, Jr.

By THOMAS FRANKLIN WATERS.

Mr. Goodell was fortunate in his forebears. He was born in Cambridgeport, Massachusetts, on October 1, 1831, the son of Abner Cheney Goodell, Senior, and his wife, Sally Dodge Haskell, daughter of Aaron and Eunice (Dodge) Haskell of Ipswich. His father, son of Zina and Joanna (Cheney) Goodell, was named after his mother's brother, Abner Cheney, a Dartmouth graduate of 1796, a man of most lovable character, and an accomplished scholar and school-master, who died at the early age of thirty-two.

Zina Goodell was in the sixth generation from Robert and Katherine (Kilham) Goodell, the immigrant, who settled in Salem but soon removed to Salem Village, now known as Danvers. He was a machinist by trade and singularly versatile in his craft. It is said that he invented the first printing press that printed both sides of a paper at once, a process for preparing copper and steel for engraving, and machines for making kegs, shoe pegs, pump logs and other practical uses.

On his mother's side, Abner, Junior, was a kinsman of Nathan Dane, the eminent lawyer and founder of the Dane Law School at Harvard, and Paul Dodge, a distinguished Vermont lawyer. While he was an infant, his parents removed to Ipswich, but soon returned to Cambridgeport, and in 1837 made their home, which proved to be permanent, in Salem. Here he attended the public schools and was graduated from the high school at the head of a class, which included the famous brothers, Hon. Joseph H. Choate and Judge William G. Choate and Hon. Darwin E. Ware. Though the way did not open for him to go to college with his brilliant classmates,

Abner Cheney Goodell, jun'r.

and the prosaic work of a machinist in his father's shop engaged him after his school-days were ended, he did not lose his ambition and enthusiasm as a student. He carried on his studies in his leisure hours in Latin, French, mathematics and English literature. In his French, he took a course under Napoleon H. Jerome, the editor of Wanostrocht's French Grammar, but had no instructor in his other studies. He had inherited his mother's fine literary tastes and as the family library was unusually rich in standard works, he read widely and was exceedingly fond of poetry, especially Milton and Pope, and committed much to memory.

Happily his uncle, George Haskell, Esq., a lawyer of Ipswich, observed the studious habit and scholarly promise of the lad. At his suggestion, the young Abner, then in his eighteenth or nineteenth year, left the machine shop and came to Ipswich to begin the study of law. Three years were spent in legal studies in his uncle's office and in the office of Northend and Choate in Salem, and in November, 1852, he was admitted to the bar. He opened an office in Lynn in January, 1853, and his ability as an attorney was soon recognized. In his criminal practice, it is said, he never lost a case. But he preferred civil law, and made it his specialty. Two of his reported cases before the Supreme Judicial Court involved decisions, which are still cited as authorities in this country and in Great Britain.

Notwithstanding his brilliant prospects as a lawyer, his profession was not wholly to his mind. In 1856, the new Court of Insolvency for Essex County was organized. Mr. Goodell was appointed Register, and was elected to that office in the following year. When this court was merged with the Probate Court, he was elected in January, 1858, Register of the Courts of Probate and Insolvency for Essex County. He then closed his law office in Lynn, removed to Salem and withdrew from legal practice. He was continued in office as Register by successive re-elections for twenty years, until 1878.

The year 1865 found him actively engaged in a variety of public services. In that year he was chosen an alderman by the unanimous vote of the citizens of Salem, and in the single year that he held office, he had a leading part in instituting the Water Department, drawing the ordinance which estab-

lished the Board of Water Commissioners and defined their duties. In the same year he was chosen president of the Salem and South Danvers Street Railway Company, which had accumulated a debt of $40,000 in its brief existence of twenty months. He held that office for nineteen years, managing its affairs with such skill that the almost worthless stock attained a market value of $200 a share, and paid twenty-two per cent dividends for the last few years of his presidency. His office windows in the Court House overlooked the line, and if he saw a driver belaboring his horses as they climbed the rising ground, he would throw up the sash and rebuke the astonished man in stentorian tones, which roused the neighborhood.

Always open to the latest schemes of improvement, he proposed the first line of electric railway between Salem and Marblehead but was refused a location. He recognized at once the value of the telephone. His friend, Mr. George G. Putnam, in his appreciative sketch of his life, states that when the first experimental telephone line between Boston and Salem was operated by Alexander G. Bell of Salem in 1877, Mr. Goodell was enthusiastic in predicting its future usefulness and financial success, and offered a set of Resolutions, which were adopted at the meeting.

But the year 1865 is significant chiefly from his entrance upon a new field of professional labor, which was destined to be his real life-work. He was appointed by Governor Andrew a commissioner, with John H. Clifford and Ellis Ames, to prepare for publication a complete copy of the statutes and laws of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, from the time of the Province Charter to the adoption of the Constitution of the Commonwealth. In 1867, with Ellis Ames, he was appointed a commissioner to print these records.

This work was very congenial to Mr. Goodell. His antiquarian tastes and love of research had been manifest in his brief biographies of the Registers and Judges of Probate for Essex County, his sketch of Alonzo Lewis, and a study of Thomas Maule of Salem, with a review of the early Antinomians of New England, all of which appeared in the publications of the Essex Institute in 1861. He followed these with a paper on the Puritans and Separatists in 1862, and in

1865 and 1866, with a series of abstracts from the Essex County Quarterly Court Records, 1637–1641. In appreciation of his literary activities, Amherst College had bestowed on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts in 1865. His legal training had fitted him for discriminating comment and appreciation of collateral material.

The first volume of the *Acts and Resolves*, 1692–1714, with a prefatory history of former publications, and historical and explanatory notes, appeared in March, 1869. Volume II, 1715–1742, was published in 1874, and Volume III, 1743–1757, in 1879. Up to this time, Mr. Goodell had received no compensation, and had divided his time between his duties as Register and his editorial work. But in 1879 he began to receive a salary. He had resigned his office as Register in 1878, and in 1884 he severed his connection with the street railway. His whole time and thought were now given to research for collateral material and preparation for publication, and it became an engrossing passion. When Volume IV, 1757–1768, appeared in 1881, it was found that nearly a quarter of the thousand pages was given to fine print notes of the most exhaustive character. Volume V, 1769–1780, was published in 1886.

The legislation of this critical period is of supreme interest and value to all students of the history of the United States and it appealed irresistibly to Mr. Goodell's instincts as lawyer and historian. He had delved patiently and with the most minute care in every field of research. Council Records, House Journals, State Archives, Governor Hutchinson's *History*, the treasures of the Public Record Office in London, Journals of Congress, Town and Parish Records, Town Histories and the newspapers of the day were searched. More than a third of the volume was given to the notes, which not only elucidated all legislation of a general nature and public value, but included a series of invaluable studies of important events in the history of the towns, the formation of new townships, the division of parishes, and the erection of new meeting houses, which often involved prolonged legal quarrels.

The next volume in chronological order, Volume VII, 1692–1702, called by Mr. Goodell, Volume II of the Appendix, bears the date 1892. It reverted to the earliest period, and applied

the same critical and illustrative method he had now adopted. Half of the whole number of pages was given to the notes. Volume VIII, 1703–1707, Volume III of the Appendix, published in 1895, allowed 600 of the total 800 pages for the notes.

The slow progress of the work naturally created difficulties in the way of its completion. The great expense involved, and the excessive elaboration of the notes aroused opposition. Appropriations for its continuance were made with growing reluctance. At times work was suspended completely. Mr. Goodell made himself responsible for the expense of editing at critical periods. His enthusiasm surmounted all obstacles. His ambition to make the series the most valuable of its kind never abated. He could not consent to any scheme of abridgment. Sharp variances with the Governor and Council arose, and in 1896 he was removed from office. Volume VI was nearly ready for publication and Volume IX as well. Although the plates for the sixth volume were cast, it was arbitrarily reduced to about a third of its intended size.

Two years later, the question of the continuance of the publication was re-opened, and a committee of the Legislature was authorized to secure Mr. Goodell's services. But he could not resume the task. Thirty years had been spent in his monumental labors, which are the more remarkable from the fact that from birth, he had the sight of only one eye, and his editorial work required the protracted study of ancient manuscripts, sometimes almost illegible. He was still in the prime of his powers. His vigorous health gave promise of many fruitful years. It will always be a matter of regret to all students of history that his editorial work was not continued indefinitely. Particular value would have attached to his notes on witchcraft, in connection with Chapter XVI in Volume VI.

His studies in this field began in 1870 with a review of Upham's *Salem Witchcraft.* In 1883, he contributed an article on the "Witch trials in Massachusetts" to the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which was followed the next year with "Further Notes on the History of Witchcraft in Massachusetts" and a third paper in 1885. He chose for the theme of his address before the Danvers Historical Society in 1892, "Witchcraft Considered in its Legal and Theo-

logical Aspects." His private library was especially rich in its collection of early witchcraft literature.

Mr. Goodell was a member of many societies. He was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in March 9, 1871. He served as a Member-at-Large of the Council from 1885 to 1887. He became a member of the New England Historical Genealogical Society in 1862, was a Director in 1884 and President from 1887 to 1892. He was a life-member and Senior Vice-President of the Essex Institute, member of the Colonial Society, Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, corresponding member of the Historical Societies of Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and New York, and was an honorary member of the Harvard Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa.

His published writings include many addresses and papers on historical and genealogical subjects. Now and then he ventured into poetry. He contributed a hymn for the Lincoln Memorial services in Salem, a "Salutation to the Colonial Flag of Massachusetts" at the entertainment of the Ancient and Honorable Society in June, 1888, and the "Repulse of Beaucourt," read at the annual dinner of the Colonial Society in 1894.

Mr. Goodell married on November 26, 1866, Martha Page Putnam, daughter of Alfred and Mary (Page) Putnam of Danvers, Massachusetts, a granddaughter of John Page and great-granddaughter of Lieut. Col. Jeremiah Page of Revolutionary fame. Two sons were born to them: George Haskell Goodell of St. Paul, Minn., born December 26, 1870, and Alfred Putnam Goodell, born February 18, 1875.

His last years were spent quietly and happily amid his books in his attractive home on the site of the ancient jail in Salem, where he died July 19, 1914 in the eighty-third year of his age.

DECEMBER MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. In the absence of the President, and the first Vice-President, the second Vice-President, Mr. RHODES, occupied the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Mr. Wendell, an impression of the seal of his great-grandfather John Wendell,[1] bearing date 1767, when a commission as Notary Public was obtained from the Archbishop of Canterbury [Thomas Secker]. The seal, which is of silver, has a maker's mark, now indecipherable, and was certainly made in America, and probably in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Mr. Wendell writes: "The device has a certain curious interest. Though nowise heraldic to the age, it is a free rendering of the chief of a coat of arms painted in a window of the old Dutch church at Albany, of which Evert Jansen Wendel, my emigrant ancestor, was 'Regerenden Dijaken' — Ruling Elder, I suppose this means — in 1656. Most likely he assumed this armorial dignity; but there are traces of its use by his descendants ever since. My great-grandfather was grandson of his grandson. The seal is in my possession at Portsmouth."

From Baldwin Coolidge, an unfinished painting of Charles Francis Adams.

From Dr. Shattuck, a photograph of a miniature of Mrs. Sarah Crocker (Cobb) Guild, wife of Curtis Guild, senior.

From Mr. Norcross, the General Pershing bronze medal struck in France to commemorate the landing of American troops in France.

And called attention to a bronze bust, on the table, of Dr. Green, made in October, 1882, by Truman H. Bartlett, and given by Dr. Green in December, 1883.

The Editor reported the following accessions:

[1] Son of John and Elizabeth (Quincy) Wendell of Boston.

A gift from Miss Elizabeth Cabot Putnam of the original subscription lists, prepared in August, 1851, for a monument in London in honor of Dr. Jenner, the discoverer of Vaccination. No subscription by any one person was to exceed one dollar. The Boston committee was composed of Drs. James Jackson and John Ware. The first paper showed that there were means of getting over the limit of subscription, for T. H. Perkins subscribes sixty-three dollars "for himself and wife, and for their descendants now living, as also the husbands and wives of those who are married," and Dr. J. C. Warren gave ten dollars.

By purchase, a journal of Tracy P. Cheever, of Chelsea, from September 22, 1851 to August 27, 1855; letters from B. F. Hallett, Rev. S. A. Grimes, G. S. Stockwell, and Charles F. Suttle, in connection with the rendition of Anthony Burns, 1854–1855; a series of letters from Horace Mann to William B. Fowle, 1841–1849; a MS. sermon dated Roxbury, January 8, 1756, "a Day of Prayer through the Province on account of the Earthquakes," supposed to be by the Rev. John Mellen of Lancaster; and a series of letters to and from Robert C. Winthrop, 1836–1855.

The VICE-PRESIDENT announced the death of Dr. Samuel A. Green, the oldest member of the Society both in age and in seniority, as a member, and for many years Librarian and Vice-President, and called upon

Dr. WARREN, who said:

Dr. Green, like many another Boston physician of the last century, seemed predestined to a medical career. His father, Joshua Green, had been a physician before him and had enjoyed the distinction of being the first house-officer at the Massachusetts General Hospital at its opening in 1821. He was appointed at that time as the student of Dr. John C. Warren. A notable event in the elder Green's career was an execution on Boston Neck for piracy. Such was the demand for dissecting material that the young doctor was despatched in haste by his teacher to secure the body, but was forestalled by a colleague, afterwards a conspicuous member of the profession, Dr. Walker of Charlestown.

The generation to which our late member belonged still retained many of the characteristics of these early times. The son in his turn served an apprenticeship, as his father had before him. Then the course of study was somewhat primitive in

character and the deficiencies of the curriculum were made up by attendance in the private office of a practitioner which served as a substitute for experience gained in hospital service. Although marked changes had taken place in the meantime in the supply of clinical opportunities for study, Dr. Green found himself still associated with other fellow students under the protecting care of a leading practitioner.

After leaving college he entered the Harvard Medical School and devoted three years to the study of medicine, the last of which was spent in the Massachusetts General Hospital where he served as house-pupil in the surgical wards. The term "house-pupil," was used to indicate that the office was held by a student who had not yet taken his degree, a survival doubtless of an old English custom which had been brought back to this country by those who had constituted the original staff of the hospital. It served also to mark the degree of subjection under which students of those days were held by their masters, whose limited therapeutic resources were jealously guarded. The masters of medicine were few in number and the pupils by whom they were surrounded formed a social circle which, in later days, has yielded to the more pressing demands of the laboratory and the clinic.

He duly served his year at the hospital in the surgical wards of Dr. J. Mason Warren, his companions on the staff being Dr. Joel Seaverns, John L. White, Edward Lane and Edward L. Holmes. Dr. White having resigned on account of ill health, Dr. Lincoln R. Stone was appointed in his place. Of his service with Dr. Green he writes, "I recall with great pleasure and distinctness the cordiality with which I was received and the kindness and courtesy with which he always treated me, as he did all those who came in contact with him. He was very much interested in his work, patient to and thoughtful of those under his charge, and always extremely cheerful in his intercourse with his patients and nurses, always ready with a pleasant smile and good word to them and especially fond of the children who were in his wards." While in the hospital he had a hemorrhage from the lungs, which hastened his departure, and for this purpose he was given a private examination for his degree at the houses of the various professors. He sailed for the Mediterranean on February 4, 1854, in a sailing packet,

his cough and lung symptoms disappearing the moment he struck the Gulf Stream. He spent a year and a half in Europe and was one of those who were the first of our medical students to take advantage of the shifting of the medical teaching center from Paris to Vienna.

Returning to Boston in 1855, he began practice on Harrison Avenue. It seems to have been a custom, lasting even in the times with which I am familiar, for an energetic and ambitious beginner to pick out a populous section of the town so as to avoid that long wait for practice which is so often experienced by the young professional man. The Back Bay at that period was still what its name indicates and there was no well-defined law of gravitation towards a certain center which prevailed in later years. When that period finally arrived, it found Dr. Green too strongly entrenched in old quarters to make the change. This was the region dominated by that sterling charity, the Boston Dispensary. No young doctor could have claimed to have made an auspicious beginning of his career without having served either as a district physician or at the central office in a medical or surgical capacity. From his office on Harrison Avenue the district to which he was assigned must have been of easy access.

His training as a surgeon at the Hospital enabled him to be of service both to John C. and J. Mason Warren as an assistant and expert etherizer in their operations in private practice. He also took charge of their dissecting room in the old Mastodon Museum Building, 92 Chestnut Street, and he relates with glee how the "subjects" were hoisted up the back stairs of the building by a rope placed around their necks. He had under him, as assistants in this work, Drs. Calvin Page and John Ellis Blake.

A favorite pupil of his teachers he was already occupying a prominent position in the profession for one of his years when the Civil War broke out. He was one of the first of the profession to enter the service for a three years' term and set an example of which his contemporary, Dr. Horatio R. Storer, says the whole profession of Massachusetts was proud. I can recall sitting at my father's table with him at probably a farewell dinner and being much impressed with his soldierly bearing and his enthusiasm, as he remarked, "This war has come

at just the right time for me."[1] Of this period Dr. Storer writes, "his relations with the medical staff of the army, both volunteer and regular, are said to have been always genial and I suppose it was from his repute as a military surgeon that he received the decoration of merit from the Republic Venezuela."[2]

On returning to civil life he resumed practice in the old neighborhood and became for many years intimately associated with the work of the Boston Dispensary, of which institution he eventually was the Superintendent. Here he displayed qualities which throughout life were so characteristic a feature of the man. Dispensary practice in my early days was of a very primitive character. Patients were hustled unceremoniously through the clinic. Little time was spent in diagnosis and one or two "solutions" prepared at the Dispensary did duty for all ailments. No time was wasted by the *chef de Clinique* in listening to long complaints. But tradition has it that the Superintendent was always on the lookout for deserving cases and could be often found interviewing many an anxious mother, as she emerged from this ordeal, or helping doubtless some feeble and needy patient. The good Samaritan was building better than he knew and no true history of that prominent feature of hospital activity of to-day known as "social service" would be complete without a mention of the work of this pioneer.

This sympathy for both young and old and his love of children were qualities which specially fitted him for the practice of medicine. That he did not pursue it in his later years was a distinct loss to those who might have been his patients. As years passed and he still pursued his old ways, he was left stranded by his contemporaries who, one after another, married and settled in the new residential quarter. But even after abandoning medicine for politics, his medical training often

[1] He was commissioned as assistant surgeon of the 1st regiment of M. V. M., May 25, 1861; surgeon of the 24th regiment, September 2, 1861; Lieut. Col. Brevet, March 13, 1865, for gallant and distinguished services in the field during the campaign of 1864.

[2] The only reference he ever made to me of his war experiences was of his last interview with Col. Robert G. Shaw before his regiment advanced to the attack on Fort Wagner. He felt much impressed with the fact that he was probably the last man to speak to him before his death.

stood him in good stead. During the political campaign which ended in his election to the office of Mayor, he was much annoyed by the intrusions of representatives of the press upon his privacy. The city was at that time suffering from an epidemic of smallpox, and Dr. Green, in virtue probably of his office as City Physician, found a comfortable sanctuary at meal-time in the Marcella Street Home where the victims of the disease were congregated in large numbers.

Like a philosopher of olden time much of his life was centered among the poor and the unfortunate. There was, however, a flavor of Bohemianism in his nature which lightened up the shadows of what might have been otherwise a somber existence. When old age and suffering finally came upon him he rose to the occasion and met the ordeal with the same cheerful spirit which he had inculcated at the bedside of the humble friends of his early days.

Mr. GRANT then read the following:

Let me say at the outset that in connection with Dr. Green this Society figures as an advance agent of "preparedness." Some six years ago, before that rather clumsy word was current, I received late in May a letter from your Editor, written at the instance of the then President, to the effect that the Doctor was so near his end that it seemed advisable to arrange for obituaries, and asking if I would attend the June meeting and speak of my recollections of him as Mayor. I was not then a member. As proceedings for probate are never initiated in the court over which I preside until the breath has actually left the body, this request seemed to me a little odd; but evidently historians can not afford to lose time in garnering the dust of the ages. Again I have been asked to say a few words and I preface them with this caution — or shall I say commendation? — as to the risks of discounting longevity, which I am sure our dear old friend would find diverting and not unseemly were he still with us.

I never met Dr. Green until he asked me to be his private secretary after his election as Mayor in 1882. Although we were together but a year, we became warmly attached to each other, and I was in the habit of dropping in on him frequently

thereafter at the Historical Society during the remaining years in which it occupied the rooms adjoining King's Chapel Burying Ground.

He was nominated as a so-called Citizens' Candidate, on a nonpartisan platform, and was at that time in the heyday of his popularity as a warm-hearted and very human citizen with a record for services as Surgeon of the 24th Massachusetts Regiment during the Civil War and services relative to small-pox while City Physician; but perhaps his most endearing asset from a political point of view was his reputation of being what we would now call a "good mixer." He was 52 and his opponent on the Democratic ticket was Albert Palmer, who taught me during my first year at the Latin School, whom I remember as highly nervous because of his tendency when irritated to pull his black beard apart and stuff the ends into his mouth. The doctor was elected by only 523 plurality. With him were chosen as aldermen Messrs. Woolley, Stebbins, Hill, Slade, Whitten, Caldwell, Hersey, Haldeman, Anthony, Hart, Pratt and White, a reputable body as a whole, and with them a Council of 89 Republicans and 33 Democrats which included William H. Whitmore, Prentiss Cummings, Henry Parkman, Malcolm S. Greenough and James G. Freeman. The new Mayor's choice of a private secretary was typical of his utter indifference to political considerations. He said to George F. Babbitt, with whom he was hand in glove and who engineered, I have been told, the Citizens' Convention that nominated him, "I want privacy and I want a young man who is a gentleman and a graduate of Harvard." Babbitt, who was my senior in college by a year suggested me, and there could have been no more complete neophyte; for I was young for my years, just engaged to be married and uncertain whether I wished to write fiction or follow the law, a state of mind I have adhered to more or less ever since.

It was eminently true, as Mr. Henry P. Kidder said in renominating Dr. Green at the Citizens' Convention a year later, that nobody could tell from anything he had done during his term of office what his politics were. Complete lack of sophistication in this respect made him a unique figure. His inaugural was very brief and his recommendations were chiefly concerned with Franklin funds for the Park and with the

Library. He was a delightful man to be with, and I, who had virtually ignored punctuation until this time, was amazed at the stress he laid on it in letter writing, but soon fell a slave to his precision in this respect. I remember George Babbitt's and my delight at discovering his reply to a donor, "This book fills a gap long needed," a sentence which seems admirable until it is studied and is now chronicled in S. A. Bent's *Short Sayings of Great Men.*

These were the days at City Hall of what might be termed stall-fed, porter-house-steak respectability among the City Fathers, which generated an atmosphere of civic disinterestedness not altogether borne out by the inside facts, as I later discovered. Dr. Green was absolutely free from guile and had the public interest solely at heart; but a Mayor who wished merely to attend to business and do good had comparatively little power under the charter, and the theory of a chief magistrate who should take the bit between his teeth and run the city had not been formulated. The spectacular incident of his term of office was his removal of Police Commissioners Henry Walker, Thomas J. Gargan and Edward I. Jones, and the substitution of Dr. Thomas Jenks and Messrs. Burley and Nathaniel Wales, an act which required courage as well as independence and one which he performed unflinchingly. He wore in those days habitually a buff-colored tall hat. He loved children and took the greatest interest in them. He was averse to moving in conventional circles though he belonged to them, preferring the neighborhood of Harrison Avenue and Kneeland Street because it brought him in contact with every-day human nature and the seamier side of life. Only once in later years could I induce him to dine at my house and this was more than most of his friends could claim. When not interested in what one said, he simply changed the subject and could always fall back on Groton. Kindness and good-will radiated from him; he liked human beings as such and if they were indigent or in trouble, he rather preferred them to the sleek and prosperous. He was a truer exponent of the brotherhood of man than some of our advertising idealists of the present day — because he never looked for any rake-off. He was an excellent judge in current affairs of what was going to happen, and I never remember seeing him when he was not cheery and urbane.

I can see him now in the old Historical Society rooms turning from his desk littered high with papers to greet me with his pleasant smile.

His campaign for re-election was in the year when General Butler, rampant, defeated Bishop for the governorship and the Doctor was pitted against his former adversary. With reference to the municipal contest the *Boston Post* declared: "Mr. Palmer's candidacy represents the greed, the clannishness and the unguided impulses of the democracy in contradistinction to its nobler purposes and its truest principles. No one desires Democratic ascendancy more than the *Boston Post*, but it desires it with honor. Mr. Palmer's candidacy represents simply the intoxication of success in the State election. If he floats into the Mayor's chair, it will be upon a wave that he can no more control when he gets there than King Canute could control the sea." By the same newspaper Dr. Green was described as "a clean, honest, capable and courageous Chief Magistrate." But the fates were hostile and Palmer was elected by 2,187 majority. The following comment by the *Boston Transcript* on the overturn was most aptly phrased: "He succeeds a Mayor whose official independence has been almost phenomenal and carried nearly to the verge of isolation. Dr. Green will go out of office with a nonchalance born of his respect for the decree of the people and a grateful feeling of relief that he can once more assume the role of a private citizen. He has been a Mayor above reproach by the general judgment of voters of all parties." Our friend was disappointed, but I think he was secretly glad. He had enjoyed the honor done him by his fellow-citizens, he had lived up to his principles by serving them without fear or favor and he was content to be free to return to more kindred pursuits.

Mr. TUTTLE followed:

The death of Dr. Green, on the morning of December 5, removed the last of the group of men who entered so largely into the upbuilding of the Society a half century and more ago. He left a record of membership of nearly fifty-nine years, which is only exceeded in length by two other members, Josiah Quincy, of nearly sixty-eight years, and James Savage of more than sixty-two years. As our senior member his term of more

than twenty-two years was the longest in our annals, since the death of William Baylies, the survivor of the ten founders of the Society, who was the senior member in point of age for more than twenty-four years. As Librarian, the Society indulged him in the completion of nearly fifty-one years, only ended by his death, the longest period held by any officer of the Society. He had the satisfaction of his pre-eminence in attaining these objects of his personal ambition.

Though a country boy, spending many of his early days with his relatives in Boston, he said that he was city bred; and he often referred to this as the beginning of his interest in his adopted city, which led to his making it his professional home. But Groton, where he was born on March 16, 1830, and where he received his common-school education, was the object of his warm attachment, and was constantly during his life in historical evidence. Not even the most trivial facts relating to it escaped his eager search. Lawrence Academy, too, where he fitted for Harvard College, and of whose Board of Trustees at his death he was president, was always the cherished object of his attention. Next in order came the Historical Society, which, after his graduation from college in 1851, and his entrance into the medical profession a few years later, was long the comforting recipient of his thought and service.

When the Society was aroused into new activity and development towards more modern lines of historical research and publication upon the election of Robert C. Winthrop as president in 1855, when also Charles Deane became Chairman of the Standing Committee, Dr. Green's interest was then apparent through his frequent and large gifts of books and pamphlets. He was elected a Resident Member in January, 1860, and in the following April, was chosen as Cabinet-Keeper. His service at the front as surgeon during the Civil War interrupted his duties in this office, which he held until his election as Librarian in April, 1868.

At that time the Society was still in limited financial circumstances, and in congested quarters, having only two rooms on the second floor at 30 Tremont Street and an attic room for an overflow. Dr. Green seemed to be the member best fitted to be Librarian, when Thomas C. Amory declined further service. Before the Savage Fund, which was the first book-fund

of the Society, was received in June, 1873, the Librarian had no regular income for the increase of the Library; and not until more than a quarter of a century later, when the Waterston and the Sibley Funds became available, did the Society have even a comfortable income for the purpose.

When Dr. Green assumed his new position the Library had about 8,000 books and 13,000 pamphlets, and from then until his health failed in March, 1912, when the numbers were more than 50,000 volumes, and 115,000 pamphlets, not counting the natural inflow of manuscripts, the Doctor had exerted himself as a collector of material, with the idea that it was to be closely guarded and always kept within reach. In defence of his plan of promiscuous collecting he often quoted from Milton's sentence in his *Areopagitica*: "A wise man will make better use of an idle pamphlet, than a fool will do of sacred Scripture." His large supply of pamphlets and books was constantly depleted by sending parcels from time to time to various libraries in the country; and their lists of accessions would show his generous gifts. It is said that a few years ago his name stood on the books of Harvard College Library as one of its most liberal givers of books and pamphlets. In this way he became a sort of clearing-house for such material, while at the same time the Society was benefited.

Until the close of his term as Mayor of the city in 1882, he paid daily visits to the rooms of the Society, to carry on this work, but after that time he was regularly at his desk, which is still preserved in our present workroom. On this interesting relic were written his publications on his favorite subject, "Groton"; and his numberless brief papers on a wide variety of subjects which were printed in our *Proceedings*. His almost unbroken attendance at the meetings of the Society, of which he often spoke with pride, gave him the opportunity for such frequent communications.

Dr. Green's personality continued a strong influence through the administrations of three presidents, that of Mr. Winthrop, of Dr. Ellis, and of Mr. Adams; and his methods, so firmly fixed under the first, where a wide latitude was opened to his executive capacity, suffered but little change in the advancing years. The Society as occasion required engaged assistance for the gradual increase in the work of the Library and of the

publishing committees, on one of which, to publish the *Proceedings*, he was a member from 1864 to 1882. Under his direction an account of the Library from its beginning was published in 1893. His warm friendship with Mr. Sibley began when he was a student at Cambridge, and out of it grew an intimacy which increased as the years went on. Often on Sunday afternoons he would be seen wending his way to Mr. Sibley's home there to spend hours conversing on matters of common interest. They both in that day thought themselves librarians *par excellence*, and no doubt they tried to live up to the best standards of their time. Mr. Sibley's confidence in the judgment of Dr. Andrew P. Peabody and Dr. Green, led to their being made executors of his will in February, 1883. It was here that the loyal interest both of Mr. Sibley and our Librarian resulted in Mr. Sibley's possessions, with Mrs. Sibley's added later, being transferred in due time into the Society's treasury. On the 8th of January, 1914, when Dr. Green resigned the office of Vice-President, which he had held since 1895, the Society expressed "its profound sense of the great obligation it is under" to him for his interest in this munificent bequest, the largest ever received by the Society. The Society then voted its "weightier debt of obligation to him than to any of its numerous benefactors"; for it was by this legacy enabled to have this building and to lay the foundation for its greater future work.

Professor EMERTON read a paper on

THE PERIODIZATION OF HISTORY.

Every attempt at a division of history into periods seems to violate one of the first principles of a sound historical method. For two generations now we who have been dealing with historical matters have been dinning into each other's ears the doctrine of the "continuity of history." History, we have been telling ourselves, flows in one uninterrupted stream from the first record of human activities to the present moment. There can be no break in this progress because each generation succeeds the previous one by an imperceptible transition. Even the use of the phrase "this generation" is misleading; for a new generation begins at every moment, and the in-

dividuals whom we speak of as forming one generation are in reality only an accidental grouping of separate human atoms. Each one begins a generation for himself. However close his incorporation with other atoms may seem to be he cannot divest himself of a something peculiar to himself, his very own, which is his personal contribution to the resistless advance of human effort.

So far as the English-speaking world is concerned this emphasis upon the idea of historical continuity dates from the persuasive activity of Edward A. Freeman. It was no new discovery of his; but, as he presented it with voice and pen, it met with a response that made it appear like a revelation. Its value began to be felt as a corrective of what may be called the "episodic" presentation of history. Before Freeman's time we had been drifting into what, again for the sake of illustration, we may call the Carlyle view of historical narration, the "catastrophic," if one please, as if history were a series of episodes culminating in dramatic catastrophes. Such a method furnished obviously a wonderful framework for the display of dominant personalities, the working out of the "great man" theory of history. It appealed powerfully to that very human admiration of greatness, that joy in the dramatic, that enthusiasm for the noble and the generous in man which to the majority of readers make up the chief attraction of historical study.

The weakness of this method was its apparent indifference to whatever was lacking in these attractive qualities. What was happening between the episodes? What were the far off impulses that produced the startling catastrophes? What was going on among the nameless multitudes over whom towered the dominant personalities? These were the problems upon which the doctrine of historical continuity began to throw a welcome illumination. Above all it turned men's minds to the study of those institutions in which the principle of continuity chiefly expressed itself. Generations came and went; dramatic crises shook the framework of society; heroes flashed across the stage and disappeared, but the institutions, legal, religious, social, economic, these went on, shifting their formulations, adjusting themselves to new conditions, but persisting still and moving forward toward ever larger ideals.

In view of this principle of uninterrupted movement all periodization of history must seem like an academic impertinence. Who shall dare say at what points we may draw cross lines athwart the regular progression of the years? How can we ever fix a line of demarcation and say: "Here one phase of human development came to an end, and here another phase began?" To these questions there is one general answer and many special variations upon it. The general answer is that without periodization there can be no intelligent dealing with the enormous mass of the historical record. Cross sections of some kind there must be, if we are not to be trapped in a hopeless entanglement of times and places. To give up all attempts at periodization would be to make a fetich of continuity and sacrifice to it the best things a study of history can give us. The only real question is as to the principles which an intelligent periodization ought to follow.

In meeting this question we must bear in mind the primary purpose we have in view; that is, the clarifying and simplifying of history for the great multitude of readers and students. That object can never be reached by a mere cutting up of the human story into convenient lengths. Human institutions are not like those very low forms of animal life which can be chopped into bits without any apparent inconvenience or any notable interruption of their vital processes. To be understood they must be seen in their relations to the conditions which have created and maintained them. If we are to violate the rule of continuity at all we must do it so as to sacrifice as little as possible of its value. If every division of history must be arbitrary we are bound to be arbitrary on principle, to give reason to ourselves and to others for our particular kind of arbitrariness. We ought not to speak of certain cross sections of the historic stream in technical terms unless these terms are so clearly descriptive of their several periods as to differentiate them plainly from all others.

For example, the phrase "Dark Ages" has somehow fixed itself with a fatal firmness in the usage of English writers. When it began, what its original implications were or what its limits in time or place, I have not been able to discover. So far as I know it has no equivalent in any of the languages of modern Europe. Precisely what it means I have never under-

stood. Wherein consists the "darkness" it tries to express? Is it in the condition of mind of the peoples who were then doing the world's work? Or is it in the comparative meagreness of the historical record for those times? Or may it be — *absit omen!* — in the general ignorance of otherwise well-informed persons as to what was really taking place in one of the world's greatest transition periods, a period of transformation from one clearly marked set of social institutions to another? "Darkness" there may well be, somewhere; but darkness is a very poor kind of medium through which to penetrate into the secret of a great human development. Our business as historians is to dissipate darkness by utilizing every ray of light we can bring to bear upon the problem before us. To dismiss an important section of our subject by labelling it "dark" is to evade our problem, not to solve it.

Almost the same may be said of the use of the word "mediæval" as a term of classification. Dean Maitland, in his volume of historical studies grouped under the title of *The Dark Ages*, published in 1844, uses this title as synonymous with "Middle Ages" and defines it in his sub-title as including the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries! Chronologically the word "mediæval" is applied with reckless indifference to any term of years between the fourth century and the seventeenth. Topically it is often made to include anything that is not obviously Roman or patently modern. As a word of appreciation or of opprobrium it is applied to whatever we like or dislike. I have heard a Gothic enthusiast say: "The mediæval man was constantly surrounded by objects of beauty." We are all familiar with the handy locution which consigns all ideas that are not "progressive" to the limbo of the "mediæval." And yet "mediæval" is a thoroughly useful and appropriate term if only we will use it in the right way and the right place.

Is there, then, a rational standard, a criterion by which the rightness of historic period making can be judged? If we mean an absolute standard, no; if we can be content with a practical working test, yes. That standard may be stated something like this: The definition of an historic period, to be of use, must be such as to give the period a distinct and recognizable *character*, so that it may be compared with other periods and

in this way its significance in the great procession of the ages be made clear. If such distinct characterization be impossible, then the attempt to deal usefully with the proposed "period" will result only in greater confusion. If we can establish the suggested definition as truly characteristic, then we shall have made a real contribution to historical science.

So, with all due precaution, let us ask ourselves upon what forms and upon what extent of periodization we may safely venture. If we confine our observation to that branch of the stream of history which chiefly interests us as heirs of the European tradition, we find ready to our hand the conventional division into "ancient," "mediæval," and "modern," and our first inquiry must be whether this division is permissible and whether it is sufficient for all practical working purposes. Does it conform to our standard of distinct characterization? To a certain degree it does so conform. What we ordinarily call "ancient history" has a certain character of its own. It presents to our view a majestic succession of great empires, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Greek and Roman; and these, with all their obvious differences, have certain common features. The theory of sovereignty is in each case the same. Each believes itself called upon in its own time to dominate as much of the earth's surface as it can reach with its arms or, in the case of Greece, with the even more penetrating weapon of its civilization. There is room in the world for only one sovereignty at a time, and the price it has to pay for its domination is the destruction of the world sovereignty that has preceded it.

Under this conception of a world there can be but one geographical centre of power, and from this must radiate, as widely as may be, all actual administration of public affairs. Every lesser administrative unit becomes a province of the world state and exists only by its pleasure. The arms of the province serve only imperial purposes. Its taxes enrich only the imperial treasury. Its prosperity is cultivated only that it may be the better servant of a master who is wise enough to use it for his own advantage. Its ruin is the punishment of a master foolish enough to waste it in the mad pursuit of temporary splendor at the cost of ultimate collapse. Such is, crudely drawn, the picture of ancient life as it unfolds itself

to us in the record of monuments, inscriptions, coins, chronicles, poetry, drama and the plastic arts. Infinite diversities of detail, but essentially the same story from the earliest aggressive activity of the upper Tigris valley down through the vast expansion of the lower Euphrates, westward to the Ionian and the Syrian coasts, around the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, up the mysterious Nile, and then, finally, in the all-embracing sway of the Roman *Imperium*, turning the great middle sea into a Roman lake and reaching out northward and westward as far as the Roman legion and the Roman trader could penetrate.

Thus far — and no farther! Never again has this principle of world domination been effectively applied among men. In its place came that other principle of human organization to which we give, broadly speaking, the name of Feudalism. Its essence consists in the minute parcelling out of "sovereign" rights among an infinite number of more or less independent units of power. The elementary rights of man, the guarantees of protection for life and property, abandoned by the enfeebled remnants of the old Roman administration, were taken up by an immense number of smaller groups. New combinations of races, of legal traditions, of economic effort, came slowly into being throughout the countries of western Europe and produced the system of public life which marks the so-called Middle Ages. Everywhere division of land and with this division also of rights over land and over the persons who drew their living from it. In legal, military and political matters, an apparently hopeless disintegration. Only in religion and in the learning that went with it do we find still surviving the principle of universality, abandoned once for all in the other relations of life.

Thus we come to a definition of the term "mediæval." It applies to a fairly well-marked period of European history in which the disintegration of external power is carried to its utmost possible limit and in which also this actual crumbling of political and economic strength is accompanied, checked and balanced by certain vast universal ideal institutions. On the one side is the typical figure of the feudal baron, larger or smaller as the case might be, combining in his single person the qualities of landlord and lord of the land, military chief-

tain, judge, tax-collector, farmer and "captain of industry," all at once, nominally subject to some remote royal overlord but troubling himself very little on that score. On the other side we have those twin abstractions, the mediæval Empire and the mediæval Papacy, the divinely ordained types on earth of that supreme order which made and sustains the universe of things. Between the two are struggling for existence the rather pathetic group of national kingships. Their problem was to counteract on the one side the centrifugal forces of feudalism and on the other the centripetal tendencies of both Empire and Papacy.

For a while this extraordinary system of checks and balances maintained itself in a fairly complete equilibrium. Each of its elements found its profit in a formal or tacit recognition of all the rest. A religious impulse welded the fugitive forces of feudalism, irrespective of nationality, into the amazing exploit of the Crusades. A religious motive focussed the meagre learning of the day upon the imposing structure of the scholastic philosophy. A religious necessity summoned all the artistic feeling of western Christianity to its supreme expression in the Gothic cathedral.

The word "mediæval," therefore, like the word "ancient," conforms reasonably well to our canon of a useful classifying term for an historic period. It represents something truly characteristic, marking off the period it describes quite clearly both from that which precedes it and from that which follows it. The "mediæval man" is not likely to be mistaken for the typical citizen of either the ancient or the modern world. Furiously jealous of his legal, political and economic rights, he is childishly submissive to idealistic impressions. A hard-headed and heavy-handed fighter for land and its accompanying privileges he is an easy victim to any form of superstition that is backed by a plausible claim to authority. What he dreads above all things is such a powerful concentration of public resources in any one hand above him as will endanger his own control of the social elements below him. To put it in other words: the natural antagonist of the mediæval, feudal system is the national state.

So we are brought to the third of our proposed terms of historic classification, the word "modern." Has this also a

definite sense in which it can be useful to the discriminating student? Following the indications just given we find at once the answer. The modern state may, for our purposes, be defined as a social organism based usually but not necessarily or exclusively upon some idea of nationality and claiming for itself control of all its resources in men and money. It recognizes but two elements in its composition: the governing and the governed. The relation of these two elements to each other is a direct one. Between the government and the body of the citizens there is no intermediate power. The government deals directly with the subject through its own agencies, and the subject may appeal to the government directly through his chosen representatives for protection against any third element that may imperil his rights.

That, briefly stated — too briefly of course to cover the many apparent exceptions — is the working theory of the modern as distinguished sharply from the mediæval and less clearly from the ancient state. With this definition of the individual state goes another even more characteristic quality of the European state system as a whole. The integrity of every member, large or small, governed as a monarchy, an aristocracy or a democracy, implies also the integrity of every other member. Each state in the modern European "family of nations" has, at least in theory, the same right to exist as every other, no more and no less. The possession of this right for itself implies a respect for the same right in all the rest. A violation of this right by any member can be committed only under the penalty that its own right may be called in question. The assumption by any member that its own necessities demand or justify such violation is met by combination among the rest, since, once admitted, this assumption must inevitably lead to further and further aggression until the very system itself may be destroyed and a return be made to the "one empire" theory of the ancient world.

This second element of the modern state system has been described as the "European Balance of Power." It has worked as a kind of crude, unwritten constitution to guarantee to the national states their right to existence — has worked up till now, and, unless the present gigantic struggle against a shameless attempt to violate it shall fail, it may go on to give still

further proofs of its value as a working policy. Acting upon these bases: the right to control its own resources, the right to live and the obligation to let live, the modern state has defended itself against the vested privileges of the feudal period and the aggressive ambitions of its fellow-members in the European "family." It has repudiated decisively the mediæval universalisms alike of Empire and of Church, and this not recently, but, in principle, from the very beginning of its struggle for existence. It has refused to submit its fortunes to any other tribunal than that sense of common obligation which so far, at great critical moments, has shown itself quick to respond and competent to defend the individual need. Whether out of the present welter of conflicting forces and competing ideals there shall arise some such tribunal, accepted by common agreement and having mechanisms of its own to enforce its sanctions — all that remains to be seen; with prophecy we are not here concerned.

Here, then, is a rational and permissible division of history into three sections, each having a distinctive character: the period of successive world empires, the period of disintegration of power restrained by certain universalistic idealisms, and the period of the balance of power among a group of national states with equal rights. So far, so good; but is this division sufficiently minute? The moment one begins to inquire as to the limits of the several periods one becomes aware of marked and confusing overlappings, and, if one tries to find what principles of division have been sanctioned by usage, this confusion becomes worse confounded. In an American university there exists a venerable endowed professorship of "Ancient and Modern History," a title evidently meant to include all the history there ever was. Obviously to the framer of this title the two words overlapped the middle period so completely as entirely to eliminate it. Perhaps the most ordinary use of the word "mediæval" is that which applies it to the whole period from the fifth to the sixteenth century, a usage so broad as to deprive it of all really distinctive meaning. Used thus it overlaps both ways, and to such an extent that its value almost disappears.

To save the meaning of "mediæval" and at the same time to give greater clearness and validity to both "ancient" and

"modern," it is worth while to carry on our process of division a stage further and to create for our use two additional periods, one preceding, the other following that of the Middle Ages proper. If we think of this purely mediæval section as beginning with Karl the Great about the year 800 and ending with Dante about 1300 these two new periods will then define themselves chronologically as covering respectively the years from about 400 to 800 and from about 1300 to 1600. Before the year 400 the ideals of antiquity still dominate the world. After 1600 those of the modern stage have clearly outlined themselves.

At first thought these two added periods seem to be lacking in our first essential requirement, a distinctive character; but this difficulty grows less upon reflection. Superficially they seem to be characterized only by a greater degree of confusion than the others but, as we try to penetrate this apparent confusion, we see that it is better described as "transition." What at first confuses us is the continuous interplay of contradictory forces. In the former of these two periods we are always confronted by the phenomena which suggested to Gibbon the title of his majestic narrative, the evidences of the "decline" of the ancient Roman state; but these phenomena are continuously accompanied by others whose meaning we can grasp only after we have become familiar with the history of the middle period proper. It is the lack of this familiarity which makes Gibbon's title inadequate to a clear comprehension of the vast period he tries to cover. His Roman Empire is always "declining," but it never "falls," because he never reaches a point where its institutions definitely and completely give way to others based upon essentially different conceptions of social order. Gibbon is an illustrious victim of "the continuity of history." His narrative rolls along its ponderous course without leaving on the reader's mind an adequate impression of the new constructive forces that were building, partly out of the fragments of his Empire, but also and in far greater part out of quite new contributions, the splendid edifice of mediæval civilization. Transition is not confusion. Puzzling it may well be; but puzzles are only so many challenges to the true historic spirit, and it is precisely such a period of transition that attracts the interest and fires

the zeal of the historian who realizes as his supreme function, not to have a pat explanation of everything ready to his hand, but "through research, to understand."

And what has been said of the First European Transition is equally true of the second. There again we pass out of the clearly definable and normally working institutions of the feudal Middle Ages into an interval of apparently hopeless disorder before we can recognize in their characteristic outlines those of the modern European "family." Here also "disorder" explains itself as transition the moment we bring it into relation with what precedes and what follows it. Small wonder that this period was until lately neglected by the general student of history or that it has been claimed alternately by the historians of the Middle Ages and by those of modern Europe. It becomes interesting and illuminating when it is treated by itself as the Second European Transition. So conceived its obvious perplexities are cleared up in the light of what happened before and what happened afterward, and in return it reflects its own illumination both backward and forward to make still clearer the institutions alike of the mediæval and the modern world.

These two added periods, then, have a character of their own, the character of transition. They may be so treated as to avoid the threefold danger of all study of transitions: first, the danger that we shall be unduly impressed by what is passing away, so that the real constructive forces are overlooked; second, the danger of unduly emphasizing what is to come, so that the contributive elements from the past are forgotten; and third, the danger of impatience and disgust with the apparent confusion and so of dismissing the whole period as merely a depressing interlude of disorder. In giving to these transitional periods the dignity of historic epochs we shall surely be reminded that all history is transition and that therefore our definition of them as "transitional" has no specific or useful meaning. Our reply must be that this is the word which best describes periods in which institutions are, to a degree very much above the normal, undergoing a specific and observable process of transformation. In that sense, therefore, our requirement of characteristic definition is met by its use in the way we suggest.

The five periods we have attempted to define give to the student of history an outline, valuable as far as it goes, but after all only an outline. Within these limits the instinct for the episodic has abundant scope. We have become familiar with a variety of "Ages" — the "Age of Pericles," the "Augustan Age," the "Age of Hildebrand," and so on without end. Such periodizing has its obvious justification and is useful, provided only that it can be brought into fruitful relation with the greater movement of history. The tendency of all concentration upon a narrow period is to magnify unduly what must seem to the specialist author dominant characteristics but may prove to be less profoundly so when compared with those of other epochs. The Fall of Rome, the French Revolution, the Great European War — what a tempting field for comparison, and what a challenge to the historian to show the really dominant forces that in each case determined the catastrophe!

In these episodic periods the clue for characterization is given by the very definition of the period itself. It is the preponderating influence of an individual, as in the "Age of Napoleon," or it is some all-pervading spirit of the time as in the "Age of St. Bernard," or it may be some intense popular enthusiasm sweeping vast masses along in some tremendous common enterprise, as in the "Era of the Crusades." In any case the character of the period defines itself at the outset of one's studies, and all detail is only the expanding and elaborating of this definition. The student sees his problem from the start and goes in search of his material with a fairly clear idea as to the use he can make of it.

No such immediate and obvious characterization, however, is possible for another form of periodizing, the most common and the most familiar to the average reader, the division into centuries. So familiar is it, in fact, that we must give to it here a rather larger space than its intrinsic importance would seem to justify. Why concern ourselves at all with a scheme of chronology so obviously artificial and mechanical? A century is a hundred years, no matter where it begins or ends; and what possible significance can there be in this or in any other merely numerical unit of time? And yet the fact cannot be denied that in the language of historical reference the num-

bers of the centuries have come to be something more than mere counters in a game. Many of them have acquired a quite clear and definite connotation. The fifth century B.C. brings before our minds the culminating point of Greek civilization. The fifth century A.D. visualizes for us the colossal displacement of the European peoples. The thirteenth century embodies the realization of the mediæval ideals in forms of beauty and in institutions that promised to endure forever. The sixteenth is the Century of Reformation; the eighteenth is the Century of Enlightenment. The nineteenth and twentieth have already received so many definitions that the historian of the future will have abundant entertainment in making his selection. We may fairly compare this use of numerical cross-sections of the course of history to our use of numbered streets in a great city. "Fifth Avenue" does not mean merely, or even primarily, to us a street lying between the fourth and the sixth longitudinal roadways of the metropolis. It has its own incomparable identity. Forty-second street has only an accidental relation to the forty-first and forty-third cross-ways of city traffic. It means the great assembling and discharging centre of the city's industry.

And so it is with the centuries, these fortuitous combinations of the historic years. They have come to represent to us certain real historic entities. They are the current coin of our discourse about historical matters, and it is a part of our training as students to learn their values as *media* in the exchange of our ideas. This, if one please, is purely a matter of accident, having no significance in the nature of the case. If this were all, it would be harder to justify the employment of the centuries as our counters by any scientific consideration whatever. But it is not quite all. A century covers three generations of men, and of these three one may be thought of as gradually retiring from the stage, another as just entering upon it, while a third is for the time occupying its very centre. This central generation, we say, is doing the work of the world. The elder generation is struggling, with pathetic courage, to hold on to what it has achieved. The younger is pressing forward, with nothing to lose and everything to gain, to find its place in the economy of things. The character of the century, it may fairly be said, is determined by the

work of the central generation, and this is largely but not wholly true. That generation has been taught by the one now withdrawing from active service, and its ideals are penetrated throughout by those of its immediate predecessor. It is sure to criticize them; it will surely at many points rebel against them, but it cannot escape them. Essentially it is moulded by them. Even when it refuses consciously to adopt them it becomes their interpreter to the generation that is to follow. Together with its function in the fulfilment of the recent past it is at the same time the educator of the immediate future. It hands on the ideals of its fathers transmuted by its own experience to the new experimenting of its sons.

These three generations, then, without any too great stretch of fancy may be regarded as forming a certain historic unit. Of course the chain of continuity goes on forever; but, after any three generations, there are pretty certain to occur, even under normal conditions, such radical readjustments in the social ideals that those of the great-grandfathers are hardly recognizable in those of the great-grandchildren. The world moves faster in some of its times and spaces than in others. Fifty years of Europe used to seem infinitely more pregnant of consequences than a cycle of Cathay; but of late we have had cause to wonder whether Cathay's long slumber were not a period of gestation whose new births might outstrip the more rapid issue of Europe's briefer travail. And, even in China, if we are concerned, for example, with artistic development, we shall find the great centuries in which certain forms of human achievement are illustrated by the work of three supremely endowed generations.

Our use of the century as a principle of historical classification is thus shown to be not a wholly fanciful one. It has its foundation in the great social fact of the normal living together of human beings in an organized society. It will be violated whenever this normal social condition is broken up. When, for example, new countries are opened up for occupation; when old countries become too crowded for endurance; when great territories are devastated by conquest and in consequence material shiftings of population take place. Then the tie, even between fathers and sons, becomes loosened and grandfathers cease to have any meaning whatever for the

grandsons. But these are the abnormalities of history. We are concerned mainly with the normal movement of a settled society.

It is probably too much to expect that any system of historical periodization shall be universally accepted, nor is this, in any rigid sense, desirable. Different needs will demand different methods and a certain elasticity will never be out of place. To hold a just balance between the important principle of historic continuity and the necessities of an intelligible presentation — that is the goal toward which we ought to strive. A rational uniformity of historical terminology might at all events do something to mitigate the acerbity of criticism among scholars who, when all is said, have at heart no other object than the discovery and interpretation of historic truth.

Mr. SWIFT read a paper on

A COURSE IN HISTORY AT HARVARD COLLEGE IN THE SEVENTIES.

Just before the meeting of this Society in March, 1915, I told Mr. Adams, our then President, that I had long wished to give some account of Henry Adams' course in American history held during my senior year in Harvard College in 1876–1877. He seemed pleased at the suggestion and hoped that I would show him what I wrote before reading it. Shortly before the meeting closed he passed from this room for the last time. Since his death I have not felt impelled to go on with this plan, because I was sure that I should miss his advice, which for more than thirty years had always been generously and kindly given. But the recent appearance of *The Education of Henry Adams*, which is as remarkable for what it does not say as for what it does say, has inspired me once more to attempt a task which is not without its difficulties and which I am sure someone can perform far better than I.

After the lapse of forty-two years, it is not easy to reconstruct the dimming pictures of the past, however vivid those pictures may once have been. I shall attempt no analysis of Professor Adams' theory of education or go deeply into his methods of teaching. I simply wish to rescue from obli-

vion before it is too late the memory of something eventful that happened to some enthusiastic students, and so affected their future lives that I cannot suppose that one of them now would be in disagreement with what I shall say.

To give this story, for that is all it pretends to be, I must do so in my own way, and occasionally I shall have to speak of myself rather more than I might wish.

The *Education* tells after its own fashion how it fell out that President Eliot asked Mr. Henry Adams, at that time without a profession, a vocation, an avocation, or even a bare livelihood, to take an assistant-professorship of history in Harvard College, and how finally and with unfeigned reluctance Mr. Adams accepted the offer. Although he is frank enough, in all conscience, about what he says of this experience at Harvard, there is a little more that he might have said had he so chosen. He did not, for instance, so much as mention the course that I took or "elected," as the phrase was, and which he gave only one year — the last year that he was at Harvard. This seems strange to me, for out of it grew, beyond a doubt, not only his largest work *The History of the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison*, but also his admirable studies of John Randolph and Albert Gallatin, and his *Documents relating to New England Federalism*. After saying a word about what courses he gave I shall confine myself to the course known as History 6 — the one I took and the only one of which I have any right to speak.

In the academic year 1870–1871, Assistant Professor of History Adams began his career as a teacher. He had not had the least experience in academic methods, and what he did know about them he did not approve. The school where he seems to have made the most progress was that of Experience, where he was to the last a modest, though unabashed student.

In 1871–1872 he repeated the course of the preceding year, but I am unable to say just what it was. In 1872–1873 he gave a course on the History of Germany, France and the Church from the eighth to the fifteenth century, to thirty-three juniors, whose assigned text-books were Hallam's *Middle Ages*, Kohlrausch's or Menzel's *History of Germany*, the *Students' History of France*, and Milman's *History of Latin Chris-*

tianity. There were also lectures. In the same year he gave a course in Mediæval Institutions to seven juniors, whose assigned text-books were the *Germania* of Tacitus, Maine's *Ancient Law* and *Village Communities*, and Hallam. There were also lectures on Feudalism and the Salic Law. To fifteen seniors in that year he gave a course on the History of England to the Seventeenth Century. The course on Mediæval Institutions, known as History 3, he repeated in 1873–1874 to five seniors and seven juniors (all candidates for advanced honors); in 1874–1875 this course was given to five seniors and six juniors; in 1875–1876 to eleven seniors and seven juniors; in 1876–1877 it was given by Mr. Adams for the last time.

The course on the History of England to the Seventeenth Century, now History 4, was given to nineteen seniors in 1873–1874; in 1874–1875 to seventeen seniors; in 1875–1876 to thirteen seniors, one junior and two sophomores; and in 1876–1877, it was given for the last time by Mr. Adams. Courses 3 and 4 were given three times a week during each academic year.

In 1873–1874 there was added to Mr. Adams' schedule a course (three hours a week) on the General History of Europe from the tenth to the sixteenth century, to three seniors and sixty-five juniors. This was known as History 2 and probably took the place of the earlier course on the History of Germany, France and the Church.

In 1874–1875 a course (History 5) was added on the Colonial History of America to the year 1789. This was given three hours a week to sixteen seniors and six juniors; in 1875–1876 to five seniors, seven juniors and three sophomores. But in 1876–1877 this course was given by Mr. H. C. Lodge, whose name does not appear in the list of the Faculty. In 1877–1878, Mr. Lodge, now Dr. Lodge, who took his Ph.D. degree in 1876, received an appointment as Instructor in History, and conducted Professor Adams' History 5 on Colonial History, and also his History 6, now changed to History 7. After Professor Adams severed his connection with the college Dr. Emerton and Dr. Ernest Young covered his earlier courses.

The entire Historical Faculty of Harvard College comprised, in 1872–1873, three members, Professors Gurney, Torrey and Adams; in 1877–1878 it comprised five members; the pre-

ceding year there were six members, including Mr. Adams. It now contains, according to the latest printed catalogue, sixteen professors, besides assistants, and twenty professors giving courses allied to the history department, and is one of the hardiest growths of Harvard University.

After these meticulous, but not wholly valueless details I wish to go back to the course (History 6) on the History of the United States from 1789 to 1840, given in 1876–1877 by Mr. Adams for the first and last time. If my memory serves me this also was given three times a week.

From these facts it will appear that during the larger part of his professorship he was teaching nine hours a week throughout the year, and according to his own statement received for this service four dollars a day, but it is uncertain whether this sum applies to the academic or the solar year. I do not know nor did I have the curiosity to find out.

It is of this course, called History 6, of which I wished to speak. It appears from the facts I have given that the Adams' courses were gaining in favor among the students, although they were hard and exacting. There was no doubt what the reputation of Henry Adams had become when the academic year of 1876–1877 opened, with a very full attendance in this course.

The course was held in Harvard Hall, up one flight I think. The room was crowded, Mr. Adams sitting on a rather low platform with a small table at his right. The lectures, though they were not lectures, nor were they recitations, were held I am rather sure at 1.30 P. M., an hour when ruddy youth is well disposed to somnolence, but there was no closing of the eyes in slumber when Henry Adams was in command. All was wholly unacademic; no formality, no rigidity, no professorial pose, but you may be sure that there was never a suspicion of student roguishness or bad manners. We faced a friendly-disposed gentleman some twenty years older than ourselves, whose every feature, every line of his body, his clothes, his bearing, his speech were well bred to a degree. One does not make a clown of himself before such a personality. He would make us laugh until we ached, but it was the laughter of a club and not a pothouse. In none of his courses did Mr. Adams do much lecturing, but in Mediæval

Institutions I learn that the last meeting of the course it was his custom to devote to a regular lecture of the old-fashioned academic sort. In our course, he would select various topics, incidental to the periods covered, and assign one side to one student and the opposing to another. Thus we had under discussion all the important phases of American history for about fifty years — the formation of the Constitution, Jay's Treaty, Genet's Mission, the Alien and Sedition Laws, the trial of Aaron Burr, the Hartford Convention, etc., etc., down through the Administration of Van Buren. I forget who my opponent was, but I was given the American Commissioners' side to defend in the X. Y. Z. Mission. Never did I enjoy myself so much before or since as in that eventful hour. I tore Talleyrand and his fellow rascals to shreds, made light of the aspirations of the French democracy, and demonstrated the entire worthlessness of their base imitators in America. As I recall my efforts it seems to me that Mr. Henry Adams was more amused at my unrestrained Federalism than he was impressed by my interpretation of history. But I had to have the facts, else had I been picked up sharply by the Professor and by students far abler than I. The point of it all was that we moved in a perfectly free intellectual atmosphere; no constraint, no didacticism, and really no partisanship. To this day I do not know which side Henry Adams favored — Federalist or Republican. He would not have proselyted for the world. If you will pardon a momentary personal note, I can tell you what this course did for me. I had no prepossessions; the name of Jefferson stood high in my youthful mind with those of Washington, Adams, Hamilton, Franklin and the other conscript fathers. But blood has a way of telling. One day I let my grandfather know what I was studying. He then told me of the attack of the British on Falmouth in the War of 1812. Grandfather and other youth of the town were set to work throwing up ramparts against the attack, when a large mass of dirt fell on one of the diggers and nearly crushed him. "I wish it had killed him, the damned old Democrat," said my worthy grandsire to me. Coming from a man of eminent piety this astonished me, and set me to thinking. The result of it all was that before I had finished the course I had become an ardent

Federalist and have remained one ever since. To me Thomas Jefferson seemed then and seems to-day a man of lofty idealism with unstable moral foundations. Now I do not believe that Mr. Henry Adams particularly wished me to form such conclusions as I did, but I am absolutely certain that whatever conclusion I did reach, he wanted me to reach for myself and not through his indoctrinations. It was a legend in college that Mr. Adams conducted the democratic side of American history and Mr. Lodge the Federalist or "aristocratic" side. Probably neither of them ever dreamed of doing such a thing. If there was anything in the rumor, it did not seem to work in my case.

Another instance of Mr. Adams' poise is worth telling. As usual he assigned a certain topic, let us say the Orders in Council and the Berlin Decree, one side Federalist, the other Republican or Democratic as you will, to two men. The Republican defence he entrusted to a student who had not a drop of anything but Federalist blood in his veins. The Federalist side he gave to the descendant of generations of New England sea captains, who had no reason whatever to hate Jefferson and his party. The Federalist-born youth did not relish his assignment and asked his more democratically inclined opponent whether he would be willing to change sides. No objection was made to this suggestion, and they both waited on Mr. Adams to get his permission to "swap around." After listening courteously to their requests he said: "I think, gentlemen, that I prefer to let matters stand as they are." It probably did both of them much good to defend something which one of them and perhaps both certainly loathed. You know them both; both are men of eminence in their chosen paths, and both speak with feeling of the good that Henry Adams did them. One of them, probably the soundest purely literary critic we have, tells me that what he learned from Adams was method and to be swayed by no other men's statements as such. As an almost direct result of this teaching he wrote a biography of one of our undisputed men of genius. It was cold, precise, balanced, accurate, and it stands to-day as a lasting monument of the effect of Henry Adams' impartial methods on an able and youthful mind.

At the opening of the course Mr. Adams said that he was well aware that some of the students before him were the descendants of men who had taken an active part in the events of the period about to be covered, and that it was probable that some toes would be trodden on uncomfortably. We did not get the impression, however, that feelings would be allowed to obstruct the path of honest research. It can never be the pleasantest of experiences to have it gradually developed before a class of especially active-minded young fellows that one's own grandfather had made a good deal of a fool of himself, politically speaking; but inasmuch as Mr. Adams did not in the least spare the reputation of his great grandfather, John Adams, there really was nothing to complain of on the part of the most thin skinned of Federalists by inheritance.

The general purpose of all Mr. Adams' courses seems to have been to indicate a method and not to teach facts. "One fact or a thousand — that makes no difference," he said on one occasion. Now and then he would walk up and down before his chair, always with his hands in his pockets, speaking with entire informality, as if talking to himself. While he was always dignified, he was unceremonious and thus did much to put us at our ease, and draw from us a more spontaneous manner of expression. Disorder in his classes would have been unimaginable.

It would have been entirely possible for me to have assembled a number of opinions from some of his students, but I have felt so certain that these opinions would be practically unanimous as to the value of his teaching and its effect on later life, that I have contented myself with giving only two from men of widely differing characters. One of these men, who must have been a very early pupil of Mr. Adams, wrote me the other day, quite unsolicited, as follows: "If there was anything in the teaching of Henry Adams that appealed to me at the time, and still appeals to me, it was to think for myself and act for myself, and take the consequences. He was the greatest teacher I ever had except Experience." The other opinion is from a man of a far more highly trained intelligence. After speaking of Adams as our "affectionately-minded teacher," he goes on to say: "My own intellectual

debt to him is untold. The climax of education is to be silent; but the climax of life is expression. The power of life in me withdraws into its fountains, and education comes more to the fore. I begin, with clearer eyes, to appreciate the values of reality, and I look forward now to a good deal of silence. I shall end, as I began, his profoundly grateful pupil."

It takes no elaborate explanation to show that the work thus wrought in the young minds of those two men was of no ordinary sort and that it was achieved by no common man. It gives one a faint idea of how great is the greatness of a teacher fitted exactly to his task.

This has all been rather fragmentary, but I hope that I have given some kind of a picture of that animated course in history two score and more years ago. The details of necessity are dim, but the general outlines should be intelligible.

And now one more incident to show the wonderful discernment of this man. The marks at graduation were not given out until the morning of Commencement. When I arrived on that eventful occasion at the old pump near Massachusetts Hall, before the seniors' march to Sanders Theatre, I met my classmate George Edward Woodberry, now a Harvard Doctor of Letters. He told me that he led the course under Adams with a mark of 97 per cent; I came next, with 95 per cent; then A. L. Lowell, with 93 per cent, and after him all the high honor and scholarship men, who were furious that a poor wight like myself, no great scholar, had beaten them in their own field. No other professor in Harvard College at that time would have given these marks as Henry Adams gave them. I was the son of a man who used to be called a good American. He believed in his country and its history, and in the country from which New England sprang and in *its* history. On his modest shelves stood Burke, Chatham, Erskine, Washington, Adams, Franklin, Jefferson. I grew up among these books, and when the Adams course opened, my father, out of his slender purse, bought me the first volume of Van Holst, Elliot's *Debates*, and many other necessary foundation works. And there, too, was the Harvard Library, hospitable to the sadly few who went there in those days. I simply wallowed in books; while the high students were busy acquiring facts and dates,

I was forming at twenty years of age a power of selection, of elimination, the ability to generalize a little, and to express the salient features of a topic on paper. I do not remember that I ever exchanged a word with Mr. Henry Adams except in the class room. What strange power of discernment could he have had that made him see that I was travelling intellectually by express while these scholarship men were reaching their destination by ox-teams? I do not tell this incident to exalt myself, but to show how the clear light of Henry Adams' noble intelligence shone into the modest chamber of an ordinary student's mind and filled it with a radiance that has never died out. The very little I have done I owe to the wholly unconscious influence of my old master.

From Richard Oswald.[1]

London, 9th January, 1747.

Sir, — I have now in my hands the Rough Draught of a Memorial in Manuscript, which I am of opinion might furnish some Hints that would be acceptable to you.

There is a plan therein proposed, which you may execute speedily and without much difficulty, and such as will enable this Nation to continue the War with ease and advantage for any number of years may be assigned. Or to prescribe Peace on our own terms, almost as soon as we may think proper to demand it.

And, in either event, I am humbly of opinion, you might carry the reputation and honour, as well as the real interest of these Kingdoms, by means of this scheme, to a higher pitch than ever was done before, or can perhaps be done by any other method.

The only difficulty has occurred, in any conversation I have had on this subject, is how to engage a gentleman in your sphere of life to condescend to peruse a paper of any length, unless it is patronised by some person of weight and interest. Some gentlemen of approven merit and good sense, who I have had occasion to mention this affair to, agree that the design is good, and if attended with success, the consequences would be of the utmost importance to the Nation. But they all seemed to think that unless the plan is introduced in the manner above mentioned, I could not expect that the lowest of your servants would give themselves the trouble to read it over. I was sorry for this, and was therefor

[1] (1705–1784), one of the British negotiators of the peace with the United States, 1782.

resolved to make it creep up to you through different hands, if it were not that I apprehended the intention might be defeated by being publickly known any considerable time before its execution. If ever it is executed.

And being at the same time assured that you are so good a friend to your country, that if you were duly apprised of the facility of this expedient, and the consequences of it to this, and to future ages, you would favour it with all the attention it deserves, I am determined to try the experiment in this way, even at the hazard of your displeasure, by praying you would allow me to wait of you at some proper time with this paper, and that you would not trust the fate of character of it to the judgement of any gentleman, less interested than you are, in the fate of your Country.

It will take much about two hours to read the whole. But before you have got through a quarter, or the tenth part of it, you will easily guess whether it is worth while to proceed. So that much time, in any event, cannot be thrown away upon it.

As a farther inducement to your agreeing to peruse this paper by yourself, or to suffer me to read it to you, so as I may support the facts, and explain any thing I may not have properly or distinctly expressed, I will venture, Sir, with all humble submission, to affirm that if our present enemies believed His Majesties Ministers would attempt the execution of this plan, and that another would never again be offered, they would purchase the copy of me, at a greater price than would support a campaign in Flanders for any year since the commencement of the War. And if you are not of the same opinion when you read it, I shall submit to any censure you think I deserve.

To support this request I will likewise, Sir, beg leave to assure you, that I aim at no privat advantage to my self, by intruding upon you in this manner. My circumstances luckily happen to set me above any necessity of that sort, and my temper would never engage me to any Foreign Dependance, when the profits of any Honest Industry are more than sufficient to content me.

Yet as I have always found by experience, my privat Satisfaction depending upon, and strictly connected with the welfare of my Country, I cannot deny my self the pleasure of offering any service in my power without regard to privat views, tho' at the hazard of some reflection in medling in matters that seem to ly so wide of my province.

Notwithstanding of this I must beg the favour you would throw this letter aside out of the way of your servants so as it may not

be known I have taken this freedom with you, untill such time as you have seen the paper I offer you, and if you should not find it deserving the character I have given it, I am content to be exposed for my impertinence. But before that time, it would be good in you, to prevent its being taken notice of. For I happen to be a merchant in the City, and these digressions being quite out of our stile, and are upon the main some discredit to a person of business, it would be some loss to me if a thing of this nature was known within the circle of my acquaintance.

So I have now only to repeat my request that you would peruse this Memorial in part or in whole, which if you will be pleased to signify to me, I will with pleasure wait of you at any hour you may appoint and will thereafter, if you order it, furnish such explanations and aditions as may be wanting, before the expediency of the measure proposed is submitted to any other gentlemen you may think proper to advise with. A letter directed for me, at the Sword Blade Coffee house in Birchin Lane, will readily find me.

I beg leave to subscribe my self Sir Your most Obedient and most Humble Servant,

RICHARD OSWALD.

MEMOIR

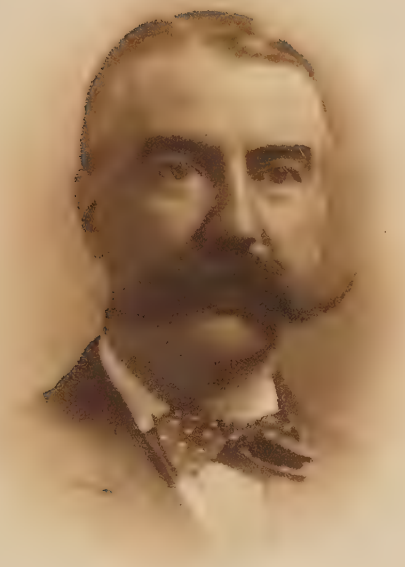
OF

THOMAS RUSSELL SULLIVAN

By M. A. DeWOLFE HOWE.

Both by inheritance and in circumstance Thomas Russell Sullivan was eminently a Bostonian, though of that modified and blended sort which owes much of its quality to familiarity with societies and scenes from which Beacon Hill is not visible. He was born in Boston, November 21, 1849, the son of the Rev. Thomas Russell Sullivan (1799–1862) and Charlotte Caldwell (Blake) Sullivan (1804–1863). His father, a Unitarian minister of Keene, N. H., before he became master of a private school under the Park Street Church in Boston, was of the Harvard class of 1817, which contributed to the membership of the Massachusetts Historical Society, George Bancroft, Caleb Cushing, George Barrell Emerson, Stephen Salisbury, and Charles Henry Warren. His father's grandfather, James Sullivan, Governor of Massachusetts, was the first president of the Society. His birthplace, on Charles Street, was one of the three "log-cabin" houses built there at the time of the "Tippecanoe" campaign. The apartment house, No. 10 Charles Street, in which he lived for some years before his marriage in 1899 to Lucy Wadsworth, a daughter of Dr. Oliver Fairfield Wadsworth, of Boston, stood on the site of the dwelling occupied by the second wife of Governor Sullivan, when, without children, she became a widow. These topographical items are given merely to suggest the marked oneness of Russell Sullivan's personal associations with the Boston of an earlier time.

He had not passed beyond his boyhood when both his father and his mother died. Reared in an atmosphere of books



MHS

Very truly yours,
Thomas Russell Sullivan

and studies, he would naturally have passed from school into Harvard College; but the circumstances in which the youth of fourteen found himself were not such as to permit this course. Instead, therefore, he entered a business office in Boston, and gave the years from 1866 to 1870 to the clerical employment of State Street. In 1870, when he was twenty-one, came the opportunity of Europe through a position in the banking house of Bowles Brothers, with its offices in London and Paris. Sullivan's work was largely in Paris. For three years a love for the theatre and all the arts, which had fed itself upon whatever his native city could offer, was richly nourished. A native aptitude for languages, a mind and spirit keenly susceptible to impressions, a good practice of taking notes upon matters of interest seen, heard, and thought upon, indeed an habitual uniting of the ways of a methodical man of affairs with the appreciations of a true devotee of the arts, made these years abroad a most fortunate foundation for the work of writing which he must already have felt to be the chief work in store for him.

The failure of Bowles Brothers brought him back, in 1873, to Boston, where he met the necessities of earning a living by taking employment in the Union Safe Deposit Vaults of Lee, Higginson & Co. To this work he devoted his days with all faithfulness for fifteen years, living in the atmosphere of finance until nightfall, and applying many hours of darkness to the more congenial labors of his pen. Throughout this time he exercised his talents as a writer for the stage both in original productions and in frequent adaptations and revisions of plays for the Boston Museum. He was also trying his wings in fiction, and in 1885 published his first novel, *Roses of Shadow*. In 1888 he decided to quit State Street, and thenceforward made letters his chief pursuit.

It was the new day of English and American short stories, and Russell Sullivan's, usually having their first appearance in *Scribner's Magazine*, and finally brought together in books, were among the best. His two volumes of *Day and Night Stories* were published, respectively, in 1890 and 1893, and another collection, *Ars et Vita*, in 1898. Their scrupulous workmanship, both in detail and in the more substantial studies of character and background, their note of authority in form and

matter, of sympathy with all the better side of human nature, won them many friends in the more sensitive class of readers. In addition to the early novel and the short stories — of which a fourth volume, *The Hand of Petrarch*, was published in 1913 — Sullivan wrote three novels, *Tom Sylvester* (1893), *The Courage of Conviction* (1902), and *The Heart of Us* (1912), besides a book of travel, *Lands of Summer* (1908), in which his friendship with Salvini and his love of Italy are commemorated, and *Boston Old and New* (1912), a delightful piece of local record and remembrance. He reached his largest public through his dramatization of Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* for Richard Mansfield, for whom also he wrote *Nero*, based upon an Italian play, but having many scenes of his own invention and composition. From the personal relationships connected with *Jekyll and Hyde* it is significant that a delightful friendship with Stevenson resulted, and with Mansfield something very like a mutual enmity. This, however, was something so foreign to Sullivan's nature that the summary of his work as a writer may more appropriately be brought to an end with a mention of what was in reality his last labor — preparing for publication the letters he had received from Salvini, through the course of an intimate friendship extending from 1881 to the last year of his life. The book which they will form still awaits publication.

Another book, *Passages from the Journal of Thomas Russell Sullivan, 1891–1903* (1917), has been published since his death. It holds but the smaller portion of a diary which be began soon after leaving State Street and continued through his years as a bachelor man of letters living in Charles Street, and even slightly beyond that period. The book, of which but a small edition was printed, is a really notable contribution to the social history of Boston, roughly for the final decade of the nineteenth century. The persons and events chiefly associated with the intellectual, artistic, and social life of the place through the years with which the journal is concerned pass in a review so sympathetic and intimate, so clear-sighted and yet so kindly, that the reader is left with that sense of gratitude which goes out to the writer who pays you the compliment of assuming that you want the best of human relationships and not the worst. Sullivan was quite shrewd enough to detect all the foibles of the persons he met; but it was not in his nature to see

first the shortcomings of his friends and neighbors, much less to make these things a matter even of intimate record. When a diary is printed with many omissions, the reason is generally that the feelings of others have to be considered. Sullivan's journal in its entirety is extraordinary for its yielding of no such causes for abridgment. It is one of the books to which the local historian will long turn with profit and satisfaction.

Especially in his *Boston Old and New* he had given tangible evidence of interests proper to members of this Society. As a trustee of the Boston Athenæum, and as one of its representatives among the trustees of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, he had in recent years shown his devotion to cognate interests. An instinct for local atmosphere and chronicle had clearly expressed itself through the portions of his novel, *The Heart of Us*, in which William Warren and the Boston Museum appear under a transparent veil of fiction. It is, indeed, an interesting process of comparison to turn from the pages of this novel to the passages in the journal in which the corresponding realities are frankly presented. Though the journal was unpublished at the time when Sullivan was elected to the Society (April 13, 1916), his specific qualifications for membership were well known. Professor Wendell has told of carrying the news of his election direct from the rooms of the Society to Sullivan in the library of his house on Marlborough Street. The pleasure with which he received it, ill as he then was, foreshadowed the satisfaction he would have had in attending the meetings of this body. But that was not to be, even once. He died in Boston, June 28, 1916.

Nearly all that has been said concerns the things that Russell Sullivan did — and they make an honorable list. Of the things that happened to him, one must record the total loss of the use, and almost of the sight, of one of his eyes — a stroke of fate that fell suddenly upon him in the night of October 12–13, 1893, which he was passing at the Players Club in New York. His bearing under this affliction was simply that of the gallant gentleman he was. To his marriage, in 1899, allusion has already been made. Of all that befell him, there was no circumstance more fortunate than this.

But a word more must be said — a word about what Russell Sullivan was. There is no better single term for it than *friend*.

He loved his kind, and his kind loved him. He told you of his work and interests if you wanted to hear about them, but he always wanted more to hear about yours. His contagious capacity for amusement — (one can see him now, gently shaken with laughter, his hand to his face as if to veil the overflow of his mirth) — made you recall and produce everything that might entertain him. His sympathy was just as quick, and it was at his hands that the friend in trouble received the truest offices of friendship. Modest, uncomplaining in distress, affectionate, loyal, a man of the world, unspotted from it, on the contrary making it a fairer place to many — he has left, beyond all his published and unpublished writing, a beloved and gracious personal memory.

JANUARY MEETING, 1919.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the second Vice-President, Mr. RHODES, in the absence of the President and first Vice-President, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Editor reported the following gifts:

From Mr. Brooks Adams and Mr. Charles Francis Adams, the library of the late Henry Adams, an Honorary Member of this Society, under the condition "that the library shall forever be kept apart as a unit, as a memorial of him, and that it shall be open to the public." The library is rich in history and travels, special works on architecture, literature and reference, reflecting his life labor and interests. It is particularly valuable to the Society for its French and German writings on history, a branch in which our collections have not been strong, and in a number of interesting volumes made unique by association or by manuscript notes of the owner. It is one of the most notable gifts of books ever made to the Society, and the Society freely accepts it in the same generous spirit of the donors.

Mr. James M. Hunnewell has from time to time given to the Society historical works collected by his father, the late Mr. James F. Hunnewell, a member of this Society. A good part of these books — some four hundred in number — has been in private or limited issues, large paper and uncut copies, in perfect condition and evidently of original subscription. Such issues have long been out of print, and have for the most part passed into public libraries, often as "extended" or "Grangerized" volumes, or are held in private libraries to await the opportunity to extend. Again, the Society, by this gift, obtains what it has long wanted, and welcomes the addition to its stores.

In November,[1] Mr. Bowditch, President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences read a note of the Council of the Academy, directing the deposit with the Massachusetts Historical Society, of certain volumes of laws, legislative journals and Massa-

[1] See p. 4, *supra*.

chusetts newspapers, of the eighteenth century. It was recognized that these volumes were somewhat eccentrically located in the library of the Academy, having come to it with the library of Gov. James Bowdoin, and been but little, if ever, used; whereas in the library of this Society they complete similar files and bring them into a place where they would naturally be first sought. It is greatly to be wished that so liberal a policy may become more general, for such a redistribution of material does not weaken the giving but does strengthen the receiving institution. This deposit comprises in all eighty volumes, of which fifty-nine are of newspapers, 1759–1830. Of the newspapers forty-five volumes were issued before 1800.

On motion of Mr. WENDELL it was voted that

The Society desires to record its grateful sense of the privilege conferred on it and the trust confidently imposed on it by the gift of the library of HENRY ADAMS — a gift which more signally enriches its possessions than any other within living memory.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Miss Susie Z. Preble, three relics belonging to her father, Rear Admiral George Henry Preble: a box made from the British Frigate *Augusta* sunk in 1778 near Red Bank, and submerged one hundred years; a Mexican musket-ball brought by him from Vera Cruz; and his badge in the Military Order of the Loyal Legion.

From Henry d'Arles, of Manchester, N. H., a "Texian Campaigne" plate.

From Frank H. Shumway, of Boston, and G. L. Tilden, of Worcester, three hundred casts and electrotypes of rare American medals made by the late Sylvester Sage Crosby.

By purchase and exchange three medals and ten pieces of Massachusetts paper currency, 1778, and 1779, including a trial piece by Leonard of the John Adams Indian Peace medal which is probably unique.

The Editor reported the following gifts of manuscripts:

From Miss Susie Z. Preble, a collection of family papers and books of peculiar interest. They were collected by her father, Rear Admiral George Henry Preble, a member of this Society, and contain his own copies of his own writings, elaborately illustrated by the insertion of many portraits, plates and manuscripts, and liberally annotated. Of the more important manuscript pieces by

Mr. Preble the following may be named: Log Books and Diaries, 1836–1859; Diary 1851, U. S. S. *St. Lawrence* and the World's Fair; Diary of a Cruise to China and Japan, 1853–1856; Chase of the *Oreto*, 1862; Log Books and Diaries, 1862–1863; Familiar Letters, 1862–1863; Preble Letters, Genealogical and Familiar, 3 volumes; Letters to Enoch Preble, 1781–1841; Enoch Preble's Diary and memorandum, 1779–1839, four volumes of autographs and a number of papers of historical and genealogical interest. The whole is a complete record of the services of a gallant naval officer and of his accurate and wide investigations on the history of the national flag, on navigation and genealogy.

Mr. Morse read as follows:

Colonel Charles Russell Codman.

Colonel Codman was my senior by some nine or ten years, and this difference of age of course threw us into different groups for our personal friendships and intimacies. I was, however, at one time so closely connected with him in some of his public work that I was able to observe many of his traits of character and in certain directions at least to take note of his intellectual qualities. The result was that I formed for him a high esteem and imbibed also a personal regard which survived through those many later years during which I met him only casually. It is in the department of these labors of his that I am glad to have this opportunity to say a few words of appreciation.

I should perhaps properly explain here that until a day or two before this meeting I had assumed that others would speak here, and that thus there would be placed before you a more full and satisfactory sketch of Colonel Codman than I alone can give. For example, of the interesting period of his military career I have no knowledge further than that I always heard him spoken of with praise as a very efficient and vigorous commander. Neither am I competent to speak much of his general activities in life, his interests, his occupations and his traits of character, as all these things were known to his friends. What I am about to say must be regarded only as a contribution towards a complete memoir.

He was fitted for the bar in the office of Hon. Charles G. Loring, and later became engaged in what may be called the

business side of the law. Thus trained and having independent resources, he was naturally soon marked by an influential circle of acquaintance as one who could be drafted for useful service in public life. He consented to their solicitations and so set out upon a public career wherein his good deserts brought to him less than the merited proportion of practical successes. Yet if he ever felt disappointment he never showed it, nor ever failed to respond to all demands which he felt to be right. Had he at that moment of starting been able by prevision to see the road which lay before him it is not supposable that he would have withheld his foot from it because he saw that it led to no goal of high distinction; for he had a very keen sense of the duties of service which were laid upon men born, bred and educated as he had been, and free by circumstances to devote their time to the unremunerative labors of public life. Perhaps too he had an instinctive consciousness of his own capacity in that direction. Moreover, though not of a combative disposition, his manly, energetic temperament found pleasure in the very stress of conflict, whatever might be the result. Trustworthy, resolute and able, he soon had around him a body of supporters, who sustained and admired him, though not always having the voting power to reward him as they would have liked to do. But such are the chances, or rather the too frequent mischances, of politics. He took his good fortune at the outset, when he was a member of the State Legislature during six years. Oddly enough he began in the Senate, of which he was a member in 1864 and again in 1865, and ended with the House, in which he sat from 1872 to 1875, inclusive, thus reversing the usual order. After having made trial of both bodies, he used to say that of the two he much preferred the popular branch; for in the Senate he could address only a few persons, who probably had their minds already made up and who were not open to change of opinion, whereas, speaking in the larger body of the House, in the rough and tumble of animated discussion, he had a fair chance to achieve something definite, to influence opinion, to win votes, often to carry or defeat measures. The preference was indicative of his nature.

It was during the last of his four years in the House that I came into daily connection with him. He was Chairman of

the Judiciary Committee and I was Secretary. It was quite the most important of all the committees, and its chairman was the most conspicuous member upon the floor, provided he had, as Colonel Codman certainly did have, the ability to make good. The amount of business referred to this Committee was very great, covering all sorts of matters from the most important legislation to the most fantastic vagaries of theorists and reformers; many an axe too was surreptitiously smuggled into that workshop in the hope that it might be successfully ground there — for a bill favorably reported in from "the Judiciary" seemed already to be half passed. To dispose of all this accumulation we held practically daily sessions, and even so it was hard to prevent a block; nor should we have done so, had not our chairman manifested an executive capacity which called forth my high admiration. He kept that endless procession of bills moving rapidly and smoothly; especially he showed keen judgment and somewhat imperious decision in separating those which deserved consideration from the rubbish which belonged in the waste-basket. I used to marvel at his intuitive perception of merit or the lack of it. He was masterful, but neither despotic nor hasty, and I do not believe that so much as one bill failed to get the full measure of investigation which it deserved, and to be reported or turned aside with impartial justice; only no time was frittered away in discussion of idle notions or selfish schemes. The work of his Committee was thus so well conducted that I think it a justifiable boast that no other committee in the House carried on its business quite so promptly and so smoothly as we did. In its composition "the Judiciary" was certainly a strong committee, and so it cannot properly be said that Colonel Codman dominated it — William W. Rice, of Worcester, and George Haywood were not men to be dominated by any one — yet I think that nine times out of ten our Chairman's lead was followed. His manner was positive and decided, but he was invariably fair-minded, patient of argument, open to persuasion, courteous and kindly.

In the debates Colonel Codman was far the most influential member on the floor, and it was abundantly evident that he would have been a prominent figure in a much abler body

of men than was gathered in that Chamber properly called of Representatives, as being indeed not more than representative of the average intelligence of the community. Two other men, who were always listened to with interest, were Charles Hale, brilliant but erratic, always entertaining but rarely influencing a vote, and John D. Long, who, as Chairman of the Committee on Bills in the Third Reading, assumed a certain authority, and was listened to with apparent respect, but who spoke with such suave and conciliatory courtesy that we often remained doubtful which side he was advocating at so much length and so politely, until his vote resolved the problem. It was quite a different matter when Colonel Codman rose; then whispered conversations abruptly stopped, all faces turned towards him and all ears gave close attention. He, at least, was sure to be neither erratic nor uncertain; neither, in good truth, could he often be called brilliant or eloquent or much conciliatory. Rather it was his habit to address himself in direct and straightforward fashion to the business in hand, speaking in an incisive and forcible manner, in terse and clear sentences. As I recall I should say that in all the session he did not once make what could be called a speech; yet he guided more votes into the ballot-box than could have been done by any other half dozen of our would-be orators together. It was no easy enterprise to carry or to defeat any measure against his authority, when his interest was thoroughly enlisted. From this statement, however, it should not be inferred that he had not the gift of oratory when occasion called for it. On the contrary he at times showed great capacity of this kind. During those years when Ben Butler was struggling for the Governorship and the honest citizens of the good Bay State were striving desperately to avert the disgrace, Colonel Codman threw himself, with all his native ardor, into the fray, and before crowded gatherings showed his capacity to stir and sway the multitude. A great speech which he delivered in opening the campaign in which Mr. Robinson won against Butler is still remembered with admiration. But stimulus of this sort was rarely met with in the Legislature, and he was not the man to offend against good taste by pouring out rhetoric for his personal gratification. He preferred simplicity, and there in fact sim-

plicity gave the better practical results. I well remember that to me, a foolish youngster imbued at the time with the cynical scepticism of youth as to the merits of popular government, it was educational and reassuring to note the power and control which could be acquired by a straightforward, high-minded, clear-thinking gentleman in such a body of average, self-satisfied, not over-wise citizens as filled those comfortable seats.

In speaking of Colonel Codman's power over the House it should be said that, while it was of course due in great measure to intellectual superiority, it was due even more to qualities of character. Not only did we all know well that he meant precisely every argument and that he believed implicitly every statement which he laid before us, but we knew equally that we had not to look out for any unavowed motive or for any misleading devices. He was a master of Parliamentary rules and practice, but he never resorted to a manœuvre even such as custom might be said to render legitimate or a righteous purpose might seem to excuse. No opponent had to watch Colonel Codman! No man escapes criticism by somebody, and I had heard Colonel Codman criticised as blunt, even to roughness, and had heard it foretold that this unfortunate tendency would stand seriously in his way. I soon found that this criticism was largely a theory, quickly jolted out of gear by facts, and his fellow legislators were distinctly of like opinion. So far from being offended by his direct and plain-spoken ways of address they had the manly feeling and the good sense to be actually pleased thereby, and the insight also to see clearly the kindliness and fair-mindedness which lay close beneath the surface. If at the close of the session a ballot had been taken on the question of personal regard and popularity among the members I would have guaranteed that Colonel Codman would poll an overwhelming majority. He had indeed a certain impetuosity of temperament, but it was always under perfect control, and tended rather than otherwise to lend emphasis to what he said. In my subordinate position I had the best possible opportunity to test his heart as well as his head, and I aver without hesitation that no one could have been a more considerate or more generous chief. He imperatively demanded accuracy, promptitude and gen-

eral efficiency to the degree necessary to second his efforts to keep the machinery of the Committee in first-rate running order, and given these things, which it was his duty to exact, he was the best of superiors, who could be surely counted upon never to leave the subaltern in the lurch if trouble arose.

Six years of service in the State legislative bodies enabled a man of his energy and ability to accomplish a great amount of useful work and to win wide recognition and a high reputation throughout the Commonwealth. The question then naturally arises why one so well equipped as a legislator, so well liked and held in such high consideration in point of character, one so experienced, so intelligent and so zealous in work was not subsequently sent to wider fields of usefulness and distinction. Probably many causes contributed to account for this fact. Primarily it may be said that he was not ambitious. Positions might be offered to him, and candidacies might be urged upon him and, from a sense of duty, accepted by him; but he was never on the lookout to secure anything for himself. Moreover the continuity of his career was broken by his going to Europe immediately after the close of his last term in the Legislature. He went with the expectation of only a short stay, but illnesses and sad losses in his family held him there for three long years. In 1878, after his return, he was elected an Overseer of Harvard University, in which position he showed his usual activity and interest. In the same year he in a way re-entered public life by accepting the Republican nomination for the Mayoralty of Boston. His opponent, Mr. F. O. Prince, was a member of the bar and personally a respected citizen and estimable gentleman; but he appealed to a constituency unhappily composed in large part of that body of voters which so often has dominated our municipalities much as the highwaymen used to dominate Hounslow Heath. The effort which Colonel Codman was willing to make to rend from them their familiar booty was as hopeless as it was generous. It is not probable that his defeat was either a disappointment or a surprise.

In early life Colonel Codman had — one might almost say inevitably — been a Whig. Later, with the approach of the Civil War, he equally naturally became a Republican, holding that political faith with all the earnestness of his decided

temperament. No long time, however, elapsed after his return from Europe before early rumblings of discontent began to make themselves perceptible in the Republican party, and especially was this the case in Massachusetts and in that social stratum wherein Colonel Codman belonged. The tone of Republican political morality seemed not so high as the best citizens demanded. This discontent grew apace, but to the party leaders reformation did not appear necessary, and it was amid this state of unrest that the nomination of Mr. Blaine, unfortunate politically and discreditable morally, developed organized rebellion. There could be no doubt where Colonel Codman would be found in such an imbroglio. High-spirited, inclined to be impetuous at times, and always independent almost to a fault, he became a prominent Mugwump. If he had cherished any purpose of seriously re-entering public life — which may or may not have been the case — he certainly thus sacrificed any such prospect on the altar of principle. The Mugwump dissidents did indeed succeed in sending a few excellent but inexperienced gentlemen — political neophytes — to Congress for a term or two; but they were utterly unable to turn these passing triumphs into enduring success. In fact Mugwumpery struck no deep roots into the community at large. Rather it might be likened to an inflammatory growth thrown out upon the surface of the political body into which in a short while it sank back and was re-absorbed, leaving not more than a scar in memory of its brief existence. By defeating Mr. Blaine the Mugwumps achieved their specific task, and it was right and natural that they should disappear as an organisation. But their disbandment could not effect reconciliation, and for long years to come Massachusetts electors of the Republican persuasion gave no offices to ex-Mugwumps. In due time some of these rebels came back to the familiar fold of the Republican party, where they were not received according to the hospitable Christian precedent of the parable of the Prodigal Son — as indeed why should they have expected to be, for who ever mistook the New Testament for a handbook of practical politics? Others went over to the erstwhile hostile tents of the Democrats in an avowed change of allegiance. Colonel Codman was one of these latter, and he was so distinguished an

acquisition that if the Democrats of the old Commonwealth had only had any reward within their disposition they would gladly have given it to him; but Democrats in Massachusetts were almost as impotent as were Republicans in South Carolina. Yet his new comrades, if unable to recompense, were at least able and desirous to use him, and in 1890, with generous pluck, he consented to gratify them by making the contest in the first Congressional District for the national House of Representatives. He was one who for conscience' sake and for principle could be counted upon to lead a forlorn hope; but here there was no hope, not even the most forlorn! His opponent on the Republican side was Charles S. Randall, a popular gentleman of an old New Bedford family, whose foot was on his native heath, and who was absolutely sure, as by predestination, of success. Nevertheless Colonel Codman, undaunted as usual, made as spirited a fight as if he had really been stimulated by a hope of winning. It was useless, of course; the inevitable came to pass, as it has the habit of doing, and he went down in a defeat which was decisive indeed, yet which held an element of consolation, since he polled the surprising number of 6,518 votes in a strong Republican neighborhood. Later President Cleveland invited him to fill a highly honorable office in Washington; this, however, he declined, for reasons unknown to me; it may probably be safely surmised that mere office-holding had little attraction for him.

Perhaps I ought not to say that I regret that Colonel Codman brought his political career to an untimely end by making himself so conspicuous in the revolt against the Republican party. It can never be a cause of regret that a gentleman does what he believes to be right, no matter what may be the outcome. Neither did any other political rebellion ever have greater provocation than this one, or ever draw together a more estimable and honorable group of men than were his comrades in this movement. Yet it may not be unduly sophistical to regret that he felt compelled to take this extreme view of his own personal obligations. Conscientious and honorable men there were who either stayed with the party, or at least refrained from declaring a permanent separation from it, and who thereby retained the opportunity later to render dis-

tinguished service in prolonged public careers. In the political history of our State the side-tracking — if such slang be not taboo in this Society — of such a man as Colonel Codman must be written down as a grave and lamentable loss. Already he had done a great amount of good work, and it is sad to think how much more he was prevented from doing only because that disastrous blunder of politics-mongers and the resultant schism left him permanently on the minority side of the chasm. He left, however, that which every gentleman wishes to leave, without counting its cost, a pure, unselfish record in a political career, — a thing by no means so common as to be commonplace.

Dr. John Woodford Farlow, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Mr. Brooks Adams spoke on "The Future Tendency of Historical Criticism," dwelling upon the importance of directing investigations to practical matters which are of interest to the world so as to make them of future benefit to mankind.

Dean Hodges read a paper on "The Old Testament, a Record of Progress."

The Society's Diploma of Membership.

Mr. Tuttle then said:

The Society has among its papers three early engraved diplomas of Resident Members, on parchment, all signed by John Davis, President, Charles Lowell, Corresponding Secretary, and Gamaliel Bradford, Recording Secretary, and bearing the embossed seal of the Society which is used on the diplomas of to-day. The names of the members and the dates are all entered in the same handwriting. The earliest certificate was given to Thomas Lindall Winthrop, who was elected on October 28, 1800, the next to James Savage, elected on August 24, 1812,[1] and the third to Rev. Benjamin B. Wisner, elected on May 5, 1831.

The question arises as to when these diplomas were issued. The earliest vote relating to the matter was passed at a meet-

[1] In spite of the diploma the records show that Mr. Savage was elected on January 28, 1813.

ing on May 29, 1834, under which a committee, consisting of John Davis, then President, and the Rev. Francis W. P. Greenwood, were appointed "to prepare and present suitable diplomas to the surviving founders of the Society." Only two of the founders whom the Society then intended to honor were living, Rev. James Freeman and Thomas Wallcut, both of whom had rendered good service in the forty-two years of their membership.

A search among the early papers of the Treasurer of the Society brings to light the following bill for engraving the diploma, which curiously enough had been finished more than a month before the vote was passed.

Boston, April 24, 1834.

Mass. Historical Society

Dr. To Wm. S. Pendleton.

	To Engraving Diploma	50.
	" 6 Copies printing & parchment	2.20
	" 54 Copies " on their Do.	10.80
	" Large Wafers paper & Stamping	2.25
June 14	To 124 Diplomas upon their Parchment	24.80
	To Sending Do. & Wafers	5.16
		$95.21

Recd Payment
for Wm. S. Pendleton
Geo. H. Child

It appears by this bill that enough diplomas were printed to supply the living members at that time, the limit being sixty. The number printed in June was probably for the living Corresponding and Honorary Members and for future use.

It is found on comparison that these early impressions are from the same engraved plate in use to-day. This plate bears the following inscriptions just below the space reserved for the seal:

"W. S. Pendleton direxit, Boston," and "Eddy sculpsit." Mr. Pendleton did copperplate and lithographic work in Boston from 1826 to 1836, and apparently in 1834, when our plate was made, Mr. Eddy was in his employ and engraved it from a scheme drawn up by Pendleton. There was a James Eddy who engraved in New York as early as 1827, and who

is said to have worked at his calling in Boston in 1830 and a short time afterward, although his name does not appear in the Directory. He was born on May 29, 1806, was at one time in later life a dealer in paintings and works of art, and died in Providence. Pendleton produced some excellent work, and our copperplate, which has been in use for nearly eighty-five years, seems to be in good condition for many future impressions. Several later bills in the Treasurer's papers show that Pendleton's successor, Thomas Moore, made impressions from the plate, and that afterward B. W. Thayer & Co. and J. H. Bufford & Co. who followed Moore in succession did similar work for the Society.

In preparation for this diploma the Society had on August 27, 1833, voted, "That the President be a committee to prepare a device for a seal for the Society, and report at the next meeting." The report made by Mr. Davis is dated February 27, 1834, and suggested the device and motto — a bee-hive, with the line, "Sic vos non vobis." This first seal of the Society was cut in brass and had a follower in the same metal backed with lead, embossed impressions of which are on the three diplomas first mentioned, and on our present stock of diplomas. This die is used only by the plate printer. It has been superseded by a modern hand-press die, made in 1912, which follows the old die very closely but gives a clearer impression, and is handy for use on all official documents.

It is interesting to note that at that time the Society had but recently purchased (on March 6, 1833) of the Provident Institution for Savings the second story of its building on Tremont Street next to the King's Chapel Burial Ground, with a privilege in the entries and stairways, also one quarter interest in the land, and the use of one half of the attic story. Here the Society entered on a new lease of life in new historic surroundings, and could look out over the past, for beneath its windows were the tombs of Governor John Winthrop, of Mary (Chilton) Winslow, and of other historic personages.

The Society had left its small quarters, the upper room of the Arch which was the central feature of the beautiful marble Tontine Crescent on the southerly side of Franklin Place. This building had been made famous by its designer, Charles

Bulfinch, who had recently returned from his studies and travel abroad. The Society in 1793 was induced to leave its corner room in the upper story of Faneuil Hall and take up its abode in this new building. Here the Society purchased new quarters with the right over the stairway leading up to it, passing by the rooms of Boston Library Society directly over the Arch. Here too at various times the Society had sent out appeals by circular letter to the public to aid it in collecting desired material. Such a letter was prepared in 1813, and appended to it was the following simple form of certificate of membership, the first one to be used by the Society:

"At a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, held at their room, Franklin Place, Boston, 181
having been previously nominated agreeable to the Bye-Laws, was duly elected, by ballot, a Member of the Society.
Recording Secretary."

The letter itself, covering a little over two pages, and signed by the Corresponding Secretary, preceded this form. It was intended that this letter should "be sent *always* to the newly elected members, and to other persons *occasionally* as may be thought advisable." A form of the letter without the certificate was also used with the latter purpose in view. Later in the 20's another edition of the letter was issued in which the certificate preceded the circular appeal.[1]

This method probably continued until the new engraved diplomas were first delivered to the living membership up to June 25, 1835, when Gamaliel Bradford, one of the signers of the certificate, resigned his office of Corresponding Secretary. Judge Davis had declined a renomination as President in March, 1835, and was succeeded by Thomas L. Winthrop in April. The engraved diplomas mentioned in my opening paragraph must have been signed between June 26, 1834, and April 30, 1835, for at the former date "The Secretaries of the Society, with the Rev. Dr. Pierce, were appointed a committee to fill up the Diplomas;" and there were no members

[1] In a note, 1 *Proceedings*, 230, probably prepared by Charles Deane, this form is wrongly indicated as the first form used. Mr. Deane had overlooked the form in which the certificate followed the letter.

elected between June 26, 1834, and June 25, 1835, on which date Mr. Bradford had resigned. Our copper-plate and the seal die produced the diplomas which were given to two of the ten founders of the Society who met at its initial meeting on January 24, 1791, one hundred and twenty-eight years ago. Thus by association we span the whole life of the Society.

Diary of Daniel Willard, 1846.

Mr. Ford read extracts from a diary of Daniel Willard, of Hartford, Connecticut, covering a visit to Washington in the summer of 1846, immediately after war had been declared upon Mexico. No reader of the diary would suspect that any political events of importance were occurring, or that the city was crowded by office seekers or by those who desired military appointment.

Boarded at Mrs. Kirkwood's at $3. per week. Heard a Chinese missionary preach in the vernacular, May 10.

Was introduced to the President, found him a very plain unassuming man, though very gentlemanly. Visited the East Room (elsewhere described as the most splendid in the world probably) and the other reception rooms, viz. for foreign ministers, Mr. Polk's reception room, room for cabinet meetings, &c, some 5 or 6 of them, better furnished than I have ever seen.

Found the Vice President very polite and affable, was invited to partake of a desert of oranges, raisins, and almonds, with himself and lady.

Secretary Buchanan is a noble looking man.

Secretary Bancroft, very friendly and sociable.

Postmaster General (Cave Johnson) received me very kindly.

I have never conversed with a more pleasant and gentlemanly personage than John C. Calhoun.

Was much pleased with the venerable John Quincy Adams, full of wisdom and kindness. Introduced myself to him as a New Englander, a descendant of the Pilgrims.

John Quincy Adams has rented a slip in the 2d presbyterian Ch. Washington, ever since 1822; pays $40, a year, besides occasional donations. In 1820 he loaned that church $1200. Rev. Matthew Hale Smith is now their Minister. Mr. Adams sometimes attends at the Capitol Sabbath mornings — where preaching was had when Congress was in session, the service being performed by two chaplains.

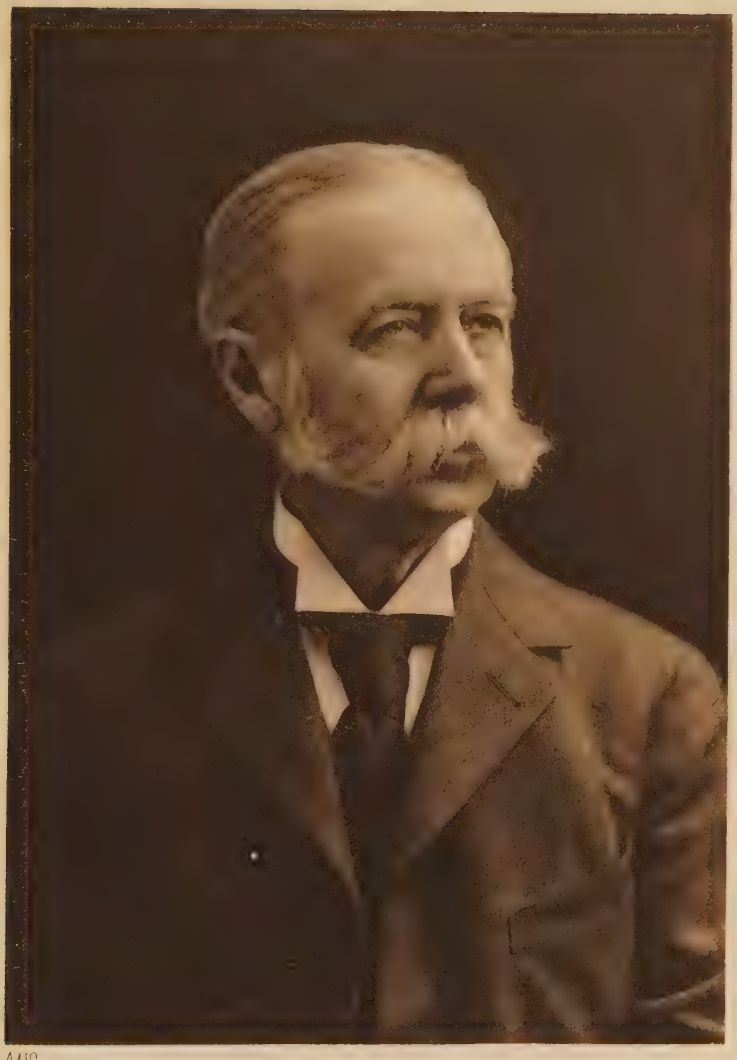
The tallest man in Congress is John Wentworth of Illinois. The most corpulent member of Congress is Dixon H. Lewis, Senator from Alabama. The smallest member, Judge [Stephen A.] Douglas of Illinois.

Hears Gough deliver a very solemn temperance Address, proving that the intemperate man violates every one of the ten commandments. Visits the Navy Yard, Penitentiary and arsenal. Rev. Donelan says he has in his charge 6000 souls, and if any of them should die and he not be there to administer the sacrament to them in their last moments, they must go to H. 15 omnibus run daily from Washington to Georgetown, each averaging about 7 trips a day, fare 12½ cents.

The President is presbyterian, Dallas, the Vice President, is Episcopalian. The Secretary of State (Buchanan) is a presbyterian of the old school. The Secretary of the Treasury (Walker) was said to prefer Methodism. Bancroft, Secretary of the Navy was a unitarian, and Marcy, of the War Department was a Baptist. Cave Johnson was "doubtful" Judge Mason, Calhoun, Berrien, Reverdy Johnson and Archer were Episcopalians; Benton and Crittenden were Presbyterians; Mangum a Baptist, and Colquitt was, or had been a Methodist preacher. Daniel Webster "lately communed with the Episcopal church," and he noted "a favorable change in his appearance" As Adams attended church at the Capitol in the morning and the Presbyterian church in the afternoon, some doubt existed on his exact faith. The Chaplain of the House (Tustin) stated that as near as he could ascertain Adams was an Arian, not a Unitarian.

George Washington Parke Custis, said to be the owner of 74,000 acres of land in Virginia, (though the Mt. Vernon tract was only 1100 acres,) remembers that Washington was systematic in every thing he did; always retired at 9, arose at 4, made his own fire in the morning, when at home would invariably come to dinner at a quarter before 3, sit down to dine precisely at 3.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Dr. WARREN and Mr. WENDELL.



Very Truly Yours
Henry W. Lawing

MEMOIR

OF

HENRY MORTON LOVERING

By WILLIAM VAIL KELLEN.

Henry Morton Lovering was a native and life-long resident of Taunton, Massachusetts, where he was born on July 28, 1840, and where he died on January 28, 1918. He was the son of Willard Lovering and Sarah (Morton) Lovering. On his father's side he traced his descent from Lieut. Griffin Crafts of Roxbury, who was a member of the Winthrop Company that came over in 1630, and from one Robert Loverain said to have arrived in this country in or about 1700. His maternal grandfather was Gov. Marcus Morton, whose immigrant ancestor, George Morton, came to Plymouth in the *Ann* in 1623. Young Lovering was fitted for college at Bristol Academy, and, following the example of many of the youth of the Old Colony of that day and earlier, he entered Brown University. His grandfather, Gov. Marcus Morton, had graduated from that Institution in the Class of 1804, and his uncle, Chief Justice Marcus Morton of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, in the Class of 1838.

Upon his graduation from Brown in 1861, Henry Morton returned at once to Taunton and entered upon a successful career as a manufacturer in association with his father and two older brothers. Thenceforward his whole life was linked with that of Taunton and devoted unceasingly to furthering the best interests of that thriving city. Eventually he became treasurer of the Whittenton Mills and remained in that position during his active business life. These mills were first managed by the father as agent for the owner, and were then

purchased by father and sons and developed into a great manufacturing plant. A typical New Englander in appearance and habit of mind, quiet almost reticent, but of uncommon good sense and judgment, he steadily grew in the good opinion of his business associates and fellow citizens, until he became a leading, if not the first citizen of Taunton.

Besides his connection with the Whittenton Mills, he was associated officially with many other local corporations, business, charitable and public-service alike. He was President of the Taunton National Bank; President of the Old Colony Manufacturing Company; a trustee of the Taunton Savings Bank; a director of the Taunton Dye Works and Bleachery Corporation and of the Taunton-New Bedford Copper Company; a trustee of the Morton Hospital; and organizer and sometime owner of the Taunton Street Railroad until its absorption in a combination of street railways. All these business interests were, however, far from holding him exclusively to the neglect of public and private matters which he regarded as quite or more important.

While still a young man he served, from 1868 to 1872, as a member of the city council, first in the Common Council, and, during the last of these years on the Board of Aldermen. Beginning with 1876, he became a member of the newly created Board of Water Commissioners and assisted over a long series of years in developing a pure and adequate water supply for the city. He served in all thirty-seven years as a Water Commissioner, for twenty-seven of them as President of the Board.

Mr. Lovering was a devout member of the Protestant Episcopal Church and an indefatigable worker in parish and diocese. He was a communicant of St. Thomas's Church and served it continuously for fifty-four years as Vestryman, Junior Warden and Senior Warden. For many years also during this long period he acted as parish treasurer. Still he found time to do missionary work outside the parish. In December, 1863, he started in another part of the city a Sunday School, out of which in three years grew St. John's Parish. He acted as Superintendent of this Sunday School for twelve years and officiated as lay reader for the new parish until a rector could be installed. He further aided the new

parish in securing a suitable lot and in helping it to build thereon a fine and commodious church. In 1894, he assisted in organizing the Archdeaconry of New Bedford for the supervision of missionary work in that part of the State, in prosecuting which he ever took an active interest. He further represented St. Thomas's Parish in the annual Diocesan Convention for over thirty years. He was also sent as a delegate to successive convocations of the newly created Province of New England, and in addition served it as treasurer from its organization. In the spring of 1907, he was chosen a lay deputy by the Diocesan Convention to the Triennial Convention to be held in October of that year at Richmond, Virginia, and was in attendance throughout the session. Again in 1910 and 1913, he attended in the same capacity the General Conventions, held in the former year in Cincinnati and in the latter in New York.

Mr. Lovering was for many years an active and useful member of the Old Colony Historical Society. He was a director of the society from January, 1892, to January, 1898, when he was chosen its Vice-President, serving as such until the Annual Meeting of 1905. Mr. John S. Brayton of Fall River, the President of that society and also a member of this, died in October, 1904, and in the January following Mr. Lovering was elected his successor. Under his wise and fruitful administration as President, the society continued to gather local historical material, to complete as far as possible the genealogical records of Old Colony families and added to its printed *Collections*. The library of the society was so far enlarged as to make necessary an addition to its building.

On May 12, 1910, Mr. Lovering was elected a member of this Society, a fitting recognition of his labors in promoting the study of local history. He came occasionally to the meetings of this Society and showed his appreciation of his membership by gifts of historical material.

Mr. Lovering was survived by his wife, Isabel (Morse) Lovering, and by three daughters, Mabel, wife of Horatio Hathaway, Jr., of Dedham, Dorothy, wife of A. Loring Swasey of Taunton, and Charlotte M. of Taunton, who was unmarried. Two other children died before him, Edith, wife of T. Hartley Merrick of Philadelphia, and Henry Morton Lovering, Jr.

MEMOIR

OF

REGINALD HEBER FITZ

BY HENRY PICKERING WALCOTT.

REGINALD HEBER FITZ was born in Chelsea on May 5, 1843, the son of Albert and Eliza Roberts, daughter of Allen Nye of Sandwich.

The first of the family in this country was Robert Fitts, or Fitz, one of ten original settlers at Salisbury, at a date as early as 1639. The family subsequently removed to Ipswich and has been in the succeeding generations in its various changes of residences an essentially Essex County family. The emigrant ancestor's home appears to have been at Tavistock in Devonshire.

With few exceptions the occupations of the family have been in business pursuits.

Albert Fitz was at one time secretary to Daniel Webster at Washington, and at the time of his death at Aux Cayes, Haiti, in 1852, a consular agent of the United States for various ports in the West Indies.

Reginald was, by the early death of his father, thus largely dependent for his education and training upon an energetic and devoted mother. He was prepared for college at the Chauncy Hall School, entered Harvard in 1860 and was graduated with the class of 1864. In the fall of 1864 he began the study of medicine under Professor Jeffries Wyman at Cambridge and at the same time attended the lecture courses of the Harvard Medical School, where he received his degree in 1868. During the year previous to this event he had served as one of the House Physicians at the Boston City Hospital.

MHS

My friend
R. H. Dirs

Jeffries Wyman and J. B. S. Jackson, Professor of Pathological Anatomy in the Medical School, were kindred spirits of the highest scientific attainments and pre-eminently qualified to impart to this eager and receptive pupil some of their own broad, scientific views in the study of the disease processes in the human body, and it is undoubtedly to them that Fitz owed the direction of his studies which led to his brilliant later contributions to the science and art of medicine.

When Dr. Fitz sailed for Europe after receiving his medical degree he had received only the somewhat meagre amount of medical instruction which could be obtained at that time in one of the best schools of the country, but he carried with him good health, unusual intelligence and an indomitable industry. After a short stay in Dresden, devoted to a study of the German language, he went on to Vienna and began his work in the medical school there. For more than thirty years students from all parts of the world had been drawn there by the teachings of Rokitansky, Skoda and a number of distinguished specialists. Under Rokitansky pathological anatomy was taught as a purely descriptive science, but with a wealth of material not to be found elsewhere and with descriptions of the appearances to the naked eye which are models of accuracy and condensation.

It was Skoda's task to predict during the life of the patients the pathological changes which might be found by his associate at the post-mortem examination. It is superfluous to add, except for the benefit of those who are not members of the medical profession, that Skoda was one of the great clinicians of the world and made fewer mistakes than some of his celebrated fellow teachers.

But the glory of the Vienna school was already on the wane and Fitz went to Berlin to study in the new school of pathological anatomy founded by Rudolf Virchow. No name deserves a higher place in the medical sciences than that of Rudolf Virchow. His genius created a new conception of pathological anatomy and his cellular pathology is one of the great contributions made to science in the nineteenth century.

In Virchow's laboratory were gathered many eager students who became leaders in many departments of medical science, and in this group Fitz soon found himself at home. He pub-

lished at this time in *Virchow's Archives*, volume 51, an article on the changes in cartilages of the bronchi. This was the first article of importance he published and was marked, as were his subsequent articles, by careful analysis, clear and concise statement and conservative conclusions. He learned here methods and ideals which he kept throughout his life. He followed always with great interest the work of the men he learned to know at this time. Few men knew German medical literature as well as he, following not only the contemporary literature, but reading the earlier authors as well.

He returned from Europe in 1870 and began the practice of his profession in Boston, and soon after was appointed microscopist at the Massachusetts General Hospital and instructor in pathological anatomy at the Harvard Medical School, and at once received the recognition which his native ability and education had fairly earned. He was a physician at the Boston Dispensary from 1871 to 1882. In 1887 he was elected one of the visiting physicians of the Massachusetts General Hospital and held this office until 1908, when his retirement took place under the rules of the Hospital, which set an age limit of sixty-five years to holders of this office. He became a member of the board of consultation, and until the end of his life was a frequent and helpful visitor at the Hospital.

In 1873 he was made assistant professor of pathological anatomy in the Medical School, promoted to a full professorship in 1878, was Shattuck professor of pathological anatomy 1879 to 1892, was elected Hersey professor of the theory and practice of physic in 1892, and retained this important office until 1908 when, by reason of the termination of his service at the Hospital, he resigned and his resignation was accepted and he was elected professor emeritus.

The inevitable influence of the study of pathology upon the teaching and practice of medicine is well illustrated by the three remarkable men who were recognized authorities in this branch of medicine during the second half of the last century, Drs. J. B. S. Jackson, Calvin Ellis and R. H. Fitz. Dr. Jackson, one of the early students in the great French medical school in the first third of the last century, brought home with him a knowledge and enthusiasm in the pursuit of pathological anatomy which slowly found due recognition here.

His interest in this department was lifelong, and his success in it can still be found in the collections in the Warren Museum, in the grateful testimony of a generation of students, and the warm regard of all who were associated with him.

Dr. Calvin Ellis, fresh from a later school of pathology, that of Rokitansky, served in his turn the Massachusetts General Hospital as pathologist and later visiting physician, the medical school as professor of clinical medicine and dean of its faculty, in which position he assisted in that great reform through which the school attained its present high place. He was also a wise and generous benefactor of the medical school and of the college.

It was quite in order then that Dr. Fitz should in the next generation again bring a later and more complete pathology to the service of a broader medicine.

Dr. Fitz became a teacher of medicine at a very interesting epoch in the history of the Harvard Medical School. President Eliot had begun those changes in the teaching of medicine which soon placed this school at the head of all similar institutions in the country. In his own words, "the school had entered on two policies of the utmost significance, first, the teaching of the sciences on which medicine depends by the laboratory method, and secondly, the employment as teachers of these sciences of men who were not to be practitioners of medicine."

Throughout the thirty-eight years of his service as a teacher of medicine and member of the faculty he showed the same consistent qualities of temperament, conservative, critical, not overready to accept a novel proposal but quite willing to listen to argument and equally ready to make answer. His careful and regular business habits, his patient attendance at faculty meetings, gave him a very large share in the affairs of the school and so commended him to President Eliot as to win this cordial estimate: "Dr. Fitz was an admirable student and teacher of clinical medicine and a skilful and sagacious practitioner; but the most beneficent and most durable work of his life was his large contribution to the better conduct of medical education and the advancement of the medical profession through his services to the Harvard faculty of medicine."

Dr. W. S. Thayer of Johns Hopkins Hospital, a student at the medical school during Dr. Fitz's term of service, has made an attractive sketch of his honored teacher:

It is not far from thirty years ago, though it seems but yesterday, that we sat in the precipitous amphitheatre of the then new school building on Boylston Street, and listened to his brilliant talks. No one who heard those remarkable lectures could have failed to carry away a deep impression of the strength, the ability, the learning of the man. They were remarkable lectures, remarkable in form and in substance; models of clear and precise exposition, admirably delivered in language, every faceted word of which seemed to have been so chosen that it and it alone, could fill its place; stimulating hours which gave to many of us a lasting realization of the importance of precision and accuracy in observation and thought and expression.

By nature of a careful and judicious temperament, he was a strong man, and had the strong man's love of discussion, argument, opposition. Just and tenacious of his opinions as a strong man should be, his firm mind was not easily shaken. But firm though his mind was, it was ever open to recognize and welcome and embrace the new truth. This very attitude of apparent opposition was one of Fitz's most stimulating qualities, inciting his associate, whether student or colleague, to keener and more efficient effort.

This most instructive and valuable habit was trying to some oversensitive colleagues. But Fitz was consistent; he did not spare himself. While yet pathologist at the Massachusetts General Hospital, he used to visit patients in the surgical wards on whom abdominal section was to be performed, in order that he might compare his bedside observations with the results of surgical investigation. His opinions he was always willing to express, far more willing, sometimes, than those in attendance upon the patient. This habit must have been of great value to him as a consultant in later years; as an example to the house officers it was invaluable.

Fitz's peculiar keenness of intellect inspired, at first in certain of his students, an admiration and respect not untinctured with fear. But the element of fear dissolved into love with the first personal contact.

How simple and gracious was his reception of the student who, perhaps, with some misgiving, sought his counsel in private. His unfailing kindness and thoughtfulness, his friendly interest and wise advice so freely and generously given, meant more to some of

us than words can express. To not a few of his students, his teaching and example were the great inspiration of their school days, and to most of these men this inspiration has been a lasting and a growing influence.

Following a custom long established in the older countries, of honoring a distinguished teacher by bringing together in a volume original investigations performed by his pupils, such a collection was made by his former house pupils at the hospital and assistants in his department at the medical school, and in 1908 a stately volume was dedicated to him containing some twenty-five articles of sterling merit, the results of investigations in nearly the whole field of medicine. A great teacher lives more surely by the excellence of his students than by any other monument that can be built for him, and this honor Dr. Fitz has earned.

Notwithstanding Dr. Fitz's high academic achievement and his notable hospital service, his lasting fame will rest upon what he taught his brother practitioners.

Appendicitis has become a household word and the layman talks glibly enough about the appendix; but before 1886 the only knowledge he would have possessed would have been that someone had died of perityphlitis and that no skill in medicine could have saved the patient — surgery was not to be thought of.

At a meeting of the Association of American Physicians at Washington on June 18, 1886, Fitz read a paper upon "Perforating Inflammation of the Vermiform Appendix, with Special Reference to its Early Diagnosis and Treatment."

No longer ago than the year 1873 Dr. Bull of New York, one of the great surgeons of the day, published the records of sixty-seven cases of this disease, then known by a different name from that now in vogue, of which 32 or 48 per cent perished, and it may well be understood why another equally well-known surgeon of that day said of the malady, "The prognosis is bad, the end is generally death."

The results of this paper by Dr. Fitz were almost immediate. The connection between inflammation beginning in the appendix and extending to other parts of the abdomen explained many of the hitherto obscure ravages of disease in

this part of the body, and the fateful words "inflammation of the bowels" which so often terrified the household are rarely heard.

Dr. Fitz, a conservative physician, was nevertheless the advocate of a method of treatment which then appeared to be amazingly radical: in his own words, "If after the first twenty-four hours from the onset of the severe pain, the peritonitis is evidently spreading, and the condition of the patient is grave, the question should be entertained of an immediate operation. If any good results are to arrive from such treatment it must be applied early."

In the opinion of the conservative practitioners such a statement could only emanate from some enthusiast so fond of operative surgery that he paid little regard to the life of his patient. To-day no responsible physician would be justified in taking any other position; in fact an even shorter period than Dr. Fitz's twenty-four hours would be found to be customary.

The pages of the medical journals of that day were filled with arguments and discussions, with questions of treatment and histories of cases of appendicitis. Dr. Fitz came out of the contest triumphant in the principles which he had so clearly set forth and brought it about that our practitioners of medicine were years in advance of the rest of the world in their understanding of the disease and their skill and success in treating it. It is impossible to state in numbers the lives saved; they are beyond computation, but there is probably not one family represented in this Society that has not good reason to be grateful to some surgeon who has learned the lesson taught by Dr. Fitz, and used it to preserve a precious life.

It is rare that more than one great discovery falls to the lot of any medical man. The frequent occurrence of the diseased appendix, the general success of the operation for its removal have attracted more attention than has been given to his Middleton-Goldsmith lecture of 1889, the subject of which was "Pancreatitis," or acute inflammation of the pancreas.

Though some work had been done in this field, yet our knowledge of the essential nature of the disease processes was slight and unsatisfactory. The analysis of the carefully gath-

ered pathological specimens, the critical consideration of the clinical histories, and the deductions inexorably drawn from them make this work a masterpiece of medical logic.

It has never attracted as much attention as the earlier work but is in no way inferior to it. The difficulties of the problem had an attraction for Dr. Fitz which led him on more than one public occasion to return to the topic. Thus, in 1903, he again read a paper upon pancreatic disease before the Sixth Congress of American Physicians and Surgeons. He reviewed the work of the fourteen years which had passed since the original paper, and mentioned in the following words the principal authors of the day who had discussed this subject: "These are the authors now to be consulted for classified knowledge of the questions under consideration. From them is to be learned in what respects the clinical characteristics of pancreatic diseases are now more sharply defined than in the day of Friedrich and his predecessors." Of himself, the master, he makes no mention.

It is noteworthy that a physician should have done so much to increase the province of the surgeon at the expense of purely therapeutic measures. It is perhaps more remarkable from the fact that Dr. Fitz had on more than one occasion criticised vigorously the tendency of some of his brother practitioners to resort to surgical interference without a due consideration of the probable results. This point of view is admirably stated in a passage from one of his published papers entitled "Some Surgical Tendencies from a Medical Point of View," which reads thus:

> The illustrations here presented are but a few from the borderland of medicine and surgery and it is unnecessary and perhaps undesirable to extend them indefinitely. They are not intended to oppose the surgeon in his persistent efforts to relieve suffering humanity, but to emphasize the importance of the careful study and selection of suitable cases. It is not to be expected that the practice of the healing art is to be based solely on hygiene and surgery, the former to prevent the latter, to relieve or cure disease, although this assertion so frequently has been the shibboleth of the last quarter of a century. The value of remedies in common use is sufficiently well established to permit their limitation to be recognized and progress in the future is likely to depend much more

upon the discoveries which shall make surgery less necessary than to open new fields for surgical treatment.

Fully recognizing the marvelous benefits to humanity which anæsthesia and asepsis have brought about, it must be admitted also that these benefits are not wholly unalloyed. Operations are undertaken which are followed by the immediate death of the patient; others prove to be wholly unnecessary and still others leave the patient in a condition of helpless invalidism, often making life worse than death.

Any operation which does not better the condition of the patient must be regarded as a therapeutic error, since the knowledge thus obtained shows that the operation should not have been performed.

The advance of knowledge in the future should be in the direction of limiting these unnecessary and harmful operations, for the wisdom of the surgeon should serve as well to restrain him from operating as to enable him to operate successfully. Especially to be cultivated for these purposes are greater accuracy in diagnosis and prognosis, and the more widespread knowledge of pathology and pathological anatomy. The surgeon will become a better adviser although the number and variety of his operations may be materially lessened.

His more important papers have been mentioned, but the full list of addresses made by him and articles contributed to medical journals need not be enumerated here; they were all valuable and had the characteristic qualities of precision and compact statement. He never spoke or wrote for the purpose of attracting attention to himself, but always to deliver his message or to question some opinion with which he might not agree.

It has been said in reproach of our people that there is a general desire to avoid controversy — a so-called good nature which leads to a tacit acceptance of many things which should not be received in silence. If this be a common fault, Dr. Fitz was certainly exempt from it. He accepted no statement which could not be adequately defended and he made none which he was not prepared to maintain.

He received all the honors to which a medical man can legitimately aspire both in this country and abroad. He was President of the Society of American Physicians and in 1907 was President of the Congress of Physicians and Surgeons, the

highest honor that can be given to a physician on this side of the Atlantic.

He received the degree of LL.D. from Harvard in 1905, was a member of the American Society of Arts and Sciences and of the Massachusetts Historical Society. On his retiring from the school and the hospital there came to him a greater freedom for other occupations than he had hitherto had, and one of the fruits was a contribution to our medical history which deserves more than a passing notice. This was a paper printed in the Johns Hopkins Hospital *Bulletin* in 1911 under the title "Zabdiel Boylston, Inoculator, and the Epidemic of Smallpox in Boston, 1721." The name of Boylston has a large and honored place in the annals of Harvard. Few who have sat at the Barmecide repasts in Memorial Hall can ever forget the splendors of costume which distinguished the members of one generation of this family of college benefactors. John Quincy Adams, with perhaps some of the partiality of a relative, paid the following tribute to the family in his inaugural oration when installed Boylston professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in June, 1806: "A name which, if public benefits can impart a title to remembrance, New England will not easily forget; a name to the benevolence, public spirit and genuine patriotism of which this University, the neighboring metropolis and this whole country have long had and still have many reasons to attest; a name less distinguished by stations of splendour than by deeds of virtue and better known to this people by blessings enjoyed than by favours granted; a name in fine, which if not encircled with the external radiance of popularity brightly beams with the inward lustre of beneficence."

Dr. Zabdiel Boylston and his relation to the introduction of inoculation of smallpox became the subject of Dr. Fitz's study. The accounts given by contemporaries of this most important advance in preventive medicine were most confused, partly from the intense hostility of Boylston's medical rivals, who easily excited the public, always hysterical in the prevalence of serious epidemics, and even now not always inclined to listen to reason; and in part because the immeasurably greater discovery of vaccination has reduced inoculation to a matter only of historical interest.

Dr. Fitz undertook the task of unravelling the tangled skein; he did it thoroughly and has given a most interesting narration of this episode in our first successful attempt in the practice of preventive medicine.

It is well that we should not forget what an epidemic of smallpox meant in Boylston's time, and this is the story of the year 1752 in Boston. Of the 15,734 inhabitants of the town 1,800 fled through fear of the smallpox; of those left behind 7,653 had smallpox; of these 2,109 were inoculated. The mortality among those not inoculated was one in ten or eleven, while of the inoculated only one in sixty-eight died. In England, under Sutton and his assistants, between the years 1764 and 1766, nearly 20,000 persons were inoculated with but three deaths.

Few better examples can be found in our medical literature of a simple but very effective presentation of the results of a study of original authorities. It is thoroughly in keeping with the author's weightier productions. There is no attempt at fine writing, though this first successful alleviation of one of the great and inevitable pestilences would have been a fit excuse. The first Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory has left on record his eulogy of Dr. Boylston, and even he, the most accomplished member of that great New England family, suffers in his stilted and pompous periods, when brought into comparison with the far more appropriate sentences of the receptive pupil of that later Boylston Professor, Francis James Child, the much beloved teacher and fountain of pure English in the days of John Quincy Adams' grandsons.

Dr. Fitz was a scholar thoroughly versed and interested in medical literature and might have contributed much in the years of a greater leisure which he now enjoyed to this department of medicine where he had given so good a specimen of his handiwork. Few physicians of the present day take much interest in the history of medicine; the whole conception of disease has been changed so radically by the scientific discoveries of the last forty years that the present and the future aspects of medicine fully occupy the thoughts and energies of the active practitioner. The capacity to observe gross appearances, however, is no greater now than it was in the days of Hippocrates, and it would be a bold teacher who ventured

to assert that the intellect of John Hunter, or Jenner, or Jacob Bigelow was any less capable of correct reasoning within the limits established by the scientific knowledge of the age than the director of the latest biological laboratory. Another production which shows the same good literary quality is the touching memoir of his intimate friend through many years, that great surgeon, Maurice H. Richardson, who did more than any other of his day to turn to fortunate use his associates' indications for surgical treatment.

Like all biographies that have a living interest, it reveals the deep sympathies between these two men apparently so unlike, and gives indirectly evidence of an underlying similarity of tastes and character. Both sprang from sound New England stock, each made his own career with little help from others, and in the most important events of their professional lives the magnificent enthusiasm of the younger felt and did not resent the influence of the cool judgments of his former teacher and later associate in the hospital and in the college. They shared, as all strong natures do, a deep and abiding love of the hills and seas and woods, and found in the varied charms of unspoiled nature the great refreshment to the spirit of man.

We shall remember him in his pleasant summer home by the sea at Manchester, with its wide outlook over coast and woodland, where he received his friends with an unstudied and generous hospitality.

He pointed out with satisfaction the beauties of the surroundings, his carefully arranged plantations, and told of his plans for the future.

True to his professional habits he sought the assistance of an art, but the art was nature itself, and the lesson of his life may be that he was most content in all his great accomplishments with the direction of the forces of nature rather than with the attempt at much active, perhaps meddlesome, interference with them.

He was elected a member of this Society April, 1913, and died in October of the same year, before accomplishing any of the agreeable tasks which he had proposed to himself amid the resources of the Society's library and collections.

He married in 1879 Miss Elizabeth Loring Clarke, daughter

of Dr. Edward H. Clarke, H. C. 1841. She survives him with two sons and a daughter; the younger son, Reginald, H. C. 1906, and M.D. 1909, has made a promising beginning in professional life and is now in the medical service of the army in France.

FEBRUARY MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. In the absence of the President, and the first Vice-President, the second Vice-President, Mr. RHODES, occupied the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. John Storer Cobb, a photogravure of Mr. Cobb.

From Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, a photostat of an engraving on the cover of a copy-book, owned by Mr. F. J. Libbie, January, 1919, which may have been engraved by Paul Revere.

From Charles Hunt, a framed photograph of Mayor Josiah Quincy's Merchants' Municipal Committee of Boston, 1896, composed of Josiah Quincy, Jerome Jones, Jonathan A. Lane, Abraham Shuman, Robert M. Burnett, James P. Stearns, Andrew G. Webster, and John C. Cobb.

From Mrs. Eliza Ware Thayer and Mrs. Mary Ware Sampson, of Cambridge, daughters of Col. Henry Ware, H. C. 1843, who was Governor Andrew's Secretary, a large framed photograph of Governor Andrew and his military advisers, taken in 1865. It is reproduced, with names, in Pearson, *Life of John A. Andrew*, II. 290.

From the Boston Numismatic Society, 196 coins and medals.

By purchase: an engraving of George Washington by Justus Chevillet after a design by Bounieu, being the second issue; and photographs of Bunker Hill Monument (1918) and the Washington Elm, Cambridge, by D. W. Butterfield.

By exchange, 26 Massachusetts Colonial Notes.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Dr. John W. Farlow accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Editor reported the following gifts and deposits:

From Mrs. Robert S. Russell, the gift of the MS. of the address of Thomas Handasyd Perkins at the laying of the corner-stone of the Boston Exchange, August 2, 1841. The building was in State

Street, between Congress and Kilby, on the site of the United States Bank, which had purchased from David Sears in 1797, and had transferred to the State Bank in 1812. Twenty-four years later the bank building was sold to Samuel Dana and others, by whom it was sold to the Boston Exchange company in 1840. Also a broadside issue (the first?) of a poem on "The Radical Club, by an Atom," written by Mrs. Katherine McDowell, 1875, with the names of the members mentioned added in MS.

From Fred Joy, the order issued by F. W. Lincoln, Jr., Mayor of the City of Boston, July 14, 1863, to Captain Lucius Slade, of the Light Dragoons, to be prepared to suppress any outbreak against the Draft Law.

From Frank J. Wilder, legal papers of various dates.

The deposit, by Mr. Edward W. Atkinson and Mr. Ernest Winsor, of the papers of Edward Atkinson, whose many contributions to economic knowledge are still bearing fruit. Possessing a most active and suggestive mind, devoted to the betterment of social conditions and to a clearer understanding of the relations between labor and capital, production and distribution, markets and natural conditions, Mr. Atkinson discussed the public questions of the day from a broad point of view, and his writings embody the results of his studies and controversies for a period of nearly fifty years, when questions of currency, tariff, production and labor were pressing for solution.

The Editor also stated that Mr. W. B. H. Dowse had provided for the publication by the Massachusetts Historical Society of the Journals of the Massachusetts House of Representatives and other state records. The importance of this liberal provision can not be measured in mere words. Massachusetts is the only one of the original thirteen states which has neglected to publish its early records and archives, the source from which the history of colony and state as well as family records and local history must be drawn. Mr. Dowse practically assumes what should have been the undertaking of the state, and thus provides upon a most generous and public spirited scale the publication of what must always possess unique value in itself and great relative value in the history of the nation. The political development of New England exerted a lasting influence upon the political development of the nation; and these records will embody a contribution to history and genealogy such as no other state, except Virginia, can give.

On motion of Mr. Wendell it was voted that

the Society desires to express its sense of the great service rendered to Massachusetts and to national history by the generous gift of Mr. Dowse, assuring that unique records, hitherto in danger of injury or loss, shall be permanently preserved and made generally accessible to all interested.

The VICE-PRESIDENT announced the death at Newport, January 27, of Admiral French Ensor Chadwick, a Corresponding Member of the Society since March 14, 1912.

Mr. THAYER spoke of the long and able public service of the late Andrew Dickson White.

Charles Harding Firth, of Oxford, England, a Corresponding Member, was transferred to the roll of Honorary Members.

George Arthur Plimpton, of New York, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Mr. LORD reported from the Council a proposed amendment to Chapter III of the By-Laws, by adding the words: "Whenever from any cause a vacancy occurs in any office of the Society, the Council may fill the same until the next annual meeting." It will be voted upon at the next meeting of the Society.

Mr. WASHBURN read a letter from the Washington correspondent of the *Boston Evening Transcript*, printed in the paper of November 15, 1915, in which it was stated in substance that Booker T. Washington was not invited by President Roosevelt to dine at the White House but lunched there in a most informal way when making a call on business. Mr. Washburn said that he sent the article to Mr. Roosevelt who replied in a letter, from which Mr. Washburn quoted, that the article was "fifty per cent false," and that he did invite Mr. Washington to dinner. Mr. Washburn also read an account of Theodore Roosevelt's boyhood written by a member of the Roosevelt family.

Dr. WARREN exhibited the staff and gold eagle which belonged to the banner carried in the procession at the laying of the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill Monument in 1825. The staff and eagle were purchased directly from Cora E. Trask formerly of 4 Hazelwood Street, Roxbury, who wrote out for him the following statement:

The banner of Gen. Warren was carried by my grandfather at the laying of the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill Monument in 1825

and has been in my family ever since. It was used at the dedication of Gen. Warren's monument in Roxbury June 17, 1904, and was carried in the parade by Mr. Augustus Bacon, Dr. Edward Morse and others. It was taken to the Masonic Hall during their banquet and in the evening was taken to the First Unitarian Church in Roxbury (being placed at the altar), where appropriate services and speeches were made. My grandfather was Lyman T. Trask of Roxbury, who died about 1840. His father was Capt. Samuel Trask of Roxbury, a Revolutionary soldier.

Dr. Warren also called the attention of the Society to the fact that on Thursday, January 6, 1919, many church bells were tolled to celebrate the vote passed by the state of Nebraska in favor of national prohibition, thus deciding the fate of the new amendment to the constitution.

By a strange coincidence, upon the following day he placed his hand upon a report of the Massachusetts Temperance Society of 1857–58, entitled *When will the Day Come?* illustrated on the title page by the sun rising at sea upon a shipwrecked mariner. The peal of bells seemed already to have rung out the answer.

According to the record, the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance was organized in 1813 and was incorporated in 1845.[1] On page 140 of this report, is the picture of a silver cup with the following inscription:

JOHANNI COLLINS WARREN
Medico peritissimo ac humanissimo
Amico multos per annos fidissimo
hanc crateram
sitienti nullos nisi innocuos haustus praebituram
grato animo
D. D. D.
Edvardus Everett
1 Januar. 1849.

Accompanying it is the following quotation from the diary of John C. Warren, who was made President of the Society, June 4, 1827:

[1] The Society exists at the present time as an organization which holds a meeting annually and distributes from its fund an income amounting to about $1,000 among societies which the councillors feel are worthy of this help. The officers of the Society are: President, Arthur S. Johnson, Vice President, Edward H. Haskell, and Sec'y and Treasurer, J. W. Barber. The Secretary has the old Record Book of the Society.

Warren Temperance Cup

RESEARCH

On the whole, I can with confidence say, that, if I had never tasted wine, my life would have been more healthy, longer and more comfortable. The efforts which I have been called to make in the temperance reformation, operating as they have done more extensively on the prosperity and happiness of the community, are a source of more satisfaction than any other labors. Probably my other occupations might have been as well or better filled by some one else; but perhaps it would have been difficult to find another person who would have been willing to undergo the opposition, ridicule, labor and expense, in the cause of temperance.

The cup in question became the property of the late Mr. John Torrey Linzee and after his death had been given to Dr. Warren, March, 1918.

Dr. WARREN also gave to the Society a book entitled *History of a Zoölogical Temperance Convention held in Central Africa in 1847*, by Edward Hitchcock, D.D., LL.D., President of Amherst College, published at Northampton in 1850. On page 98 the use of tobacco is referred to with the following statement:

The substance was called Tobacco; a name which an ingenious friend of his, who was a good Greek scholar, had derived from the name of Bacchus, the god of wine. For in *declining* that name, according to the rules of the Greek grammar, it ran thus: Nominative, Ὁ Βακχος; Genitive, Του Βακχου; Dative, Τω Βακχω. The literal meaning of which latter case, is, something offered to the person or thing spoken of: viz., in this case, as he understood it, tobacco means a certain weed dedicated to Bacchus, and it was truly a most acceptable offering, for scarcely nothing else promoted his cause so much.

Mr. FORD submitted a paper on

EZEKIEL CARRÉ AND THE FRENCH CHURCH IN BOSTON.

In October, 1662, the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay granted a petition of John Touten, of Rochelle, France, "doctor chirurgion, in behalfe of himselfe and other Protestants, inhabitants of Rochelle, who, for their religion sake are ou[s]ted and expelled from their habitations and dwellings," to be allowed to come to Massachusetts.[1] It is not known when or to what extent this privilege was used, but Touten was living in

[1] *Mass. Col. Rec.*, IV. Part II. 67.

Rehoboth in 1675.[1] In the twenty years succeeding the petition the condition of the Protestants in France grew steadily worse, and New England became a desired place of refuge. Many intended to migrate thither if shipping could be had.[2] The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 compelled a large movement of Protestants from France, and Massachusetts gained by the emigration what it needed most, an industrious population ready to take up and develop some of the unoccupied territory. In September, 1686, Salem raised twenty-six pounds for the relief of French immigrants. None of these, says Bentley, settled in Salem. Some of the families remained in Boston, but the greater number went to the southern colonies, particularly to South Carolina.[3] The story of the Huguenot settlement at Oxford, Massachusetts, in 1686–87, is too well known to require more than mention.

It is generally stated that there was a French congregation in Boston in 1685, of which Rev. Laurent van der Bosch (or Bosck) was the first minister. He is said to have removed from Holland to England, conformed to the English church and received a license to preach from the Bishop of London. That such a congregation existed in Boston as early as 1685 is more than doubtful, and Van der Bosch expressly wrote to the Bishop of London, then Henry Compton, of a wish to form a congregation but also of the insuperable obstacles encountered. The full text of the letter is in the Frederick Lewis Gay Transcripts (III. 84):

Monseigneur: — Votre Grandeur scait très bien qu'au premiere jour d'Aoust j'eu le bonheur de recevoir l'Ordination de ses mains pour être Ministre de la Caroline, où je fus pendant deux ans, pendant lequel temps je pris la liberté d'écrire à Votre Grandeur, pour lui faire connoitre l'état de mes affaires par ma première lettre je fis voir à Votre Grandeur la misérable condition où j'étois à la Caroline. La seconde fit voir comment il m'étoit impossible d'y rester d'auantage, à cause que nos françois ne pouvoient rien contribuer à ma subsis-

[1] Savage, IV. 315.

[2] 3 *Collections*, II. 58.

[3] 1 *Collections*, VI. 265. The conjecture of Snow (3 *Collections*, II. 62), accepted by Rev. Abiel Holmes, that a minister of the name of Laurie, who preached in Boston in September and October, 1686, was of this number cannot be maintained, as Gilbert Laurie was preaching in Portsmouth in that year in the absence of Rev. Joshua Moody. Savage believes him to have been a Scot.

tence. La Troisième monstra que j'étois sorti de la Caroline pour aller à Boston dans la Nouuelle Angleterre: Mais cette quatrième seruira à faire connoitre à Votre Grandeur les outrages que les Indépendants de Boston m'ont fait, et me font encore tous les jours, parce que je suis Ministre de l'Eglise Anglicane, et parce que selon mon deuoir, je soutiens ses intérests et sa Liturgie. Car pour auoir marrié des Anglois qui étoient membres de l'Eglise Anglicane, et parce que j'en ay baptisés d'autres qui desiroyent être membres de la même Eglise selon les prières communes, ils m'ont fait tous les outrages imaginables, excepté la prison, le fouette et le bannissement dont ils m'ont pourtant menacés. Mr. Mather et Mr. Moody ministres Indépendants, avec leurs adhérants sont la cause de tout ce désordre. Cependant je leur ay toujours resisté sans leur auoir jamais voulu céder en rien. Mais parce que je suis seul contre tant de personnes, qui ont icy la puissance en main, et que me menacent continuellement c'est pourquoi je prie très humblement Votre Grandeur de me vouloir protéger. Si je pouuois prescher en Anglois assurément je ferois icy des progrès avantageux à l'Eglise Anglicane mais ne sachant prescher qu'en françois, je tâche d'assembler vne Eglise françoise, je préuois bien que j'aurai de la peine pour paruenir à ce but, à cause de la foiblesse, et du peu de françois qui y sont. Je ferai pourtant tous mes efforts, et je ne suis pas resolu de retourner à Londre, à moins que la dernier necessité ne m'y oblige. Je prie Dieu qu'il daigne épandra ses plus précieuses bénédictions sur Votre Grandeur, c'est le souhait sincère de celui, qui fera toujours gloire d'être, Monseigneur, De Votre Grandeur, Le très humble et très obéissant seruiteur

Laurent Van den Bosck.

De Boston dans la Nouuelle
Angleterre le 4. de Juillet 1685.

[Addressed:] Au Très Révérend Père en Dieu Monseigneur L'Euesque de Londre. A Londre, Où à Fulham.
[Endorsed:] New England 4 July 85. From Mons. Bosck to the Bp. of London. B. G. No. 2.

Unfortunately the three letters of earlier date written by Van der Bosch have been lost, so we are unable to give any further information on this minister's first years in America. The picture he draws of his stay in Boston has all the evidence of truth. In 1685 James II came to the throne, and the Mathers, father and son, were filled with said presentiments, a condition of mind which made them and their associates hostile to innovation or to incroachment on their particular vineyard. It was

Increase Mather and Joshua Moody, "two of the venerablest men in the land" who made the Hollander so uncomfortable. Sewall gives the definite act which brought matters to a crisis:

[September 23, 1685. Laurence Vanderbosk Fr[ench] Minister Marries Sylvester and Widdow Gillam; though had promis'd the Court to do no more such things: this about the beginning 7'r: is since gone to New York.[1]

Savage believes that the minister accompanied or followed the Sylvesters to Shelter Island.

Increase Mather has left no doubt of his opinion of Rev. Van der Bosch. In his somewhat overcolored picture of toleration of the Church of England in Boston, he states that

If at any time there were any number of *that way*, they could never find *Clergie-men* to undertake the care of their souls. 'Tis confessed that once or twice a Debauched *Priest* has appeared among them; particularly one *Vardenbosch*, who besides the good work of *Baptizing* a noted whore or two of his acquaintance, made private *Marriages* without any publication of *Banes* (which is a nusance & *Bane* to all humane society); and yet so tender was the Government as only to give them some *Orall Rebukes*, upon which the guilty knaves have run away. Persons indeed that will Drink, Sweare, Fornicate, practice and preach up (the honest games of) Cards, Dice &c, have never found New-England a good Fishing ground. And others that have had more *Grace* have also (for the most part) had more *Witt* than to Cross the Ocean for a dwelling in so *Cold a Country*. And this is all the Interruption that ever the Church of England found in those parts of the World.[2]

The successor to Van der Bosch is said to have been Rev. David de Bonrepos, "who came from the island of St. Christopher to Boston in 1686, but subsequently in 1687 removed to New Rochelle, Staten Island, and New Paltz, in the New

[1] *Diary*, I. 98. It was Giles Sylvester, son of Nathaniel, the purchaser of Shelter Island and known for the shelter he gave to the persecuted under Endecott and Bellingham. The bride was Hannah, daughter of Thomas Savage and widow of Benjamin Gillam.

When Rev. Mr. Ratcliffe arrived in Boston in 1686 to preach to a congregation of the Church of England there was no question of a French congregation or a French minister of that church.

[2] *Andros Tracts* (Prince Society), II. 36.

York province." [1] No authority is cited for the presence of De Bonrepos in Boston, and nothing is certainly known of the succession of ministers, if any, until the coming of Pierre Daillé in 1696 from New York.

One link in the chain of succession may now be supplied from a tract of which only one copy is known, that in the American Antiquarian Society. The title-page is reproduced on the following page, and from it may be learned that Ezekiel Carré, once minister in the little town of La Roche-Chalais, in Dordogne, France, was actual minister of the French church in Boston in 1690. Of Carré little is known.

In 1685 Richard Wharton, Elisha Hutchinson and John Saffin, a committee for the proprietors of the Narragansett Country, entered into an agreement with Ezekiel Carré, Peter Berton and others, "French gentlemen, their friends and associates," for a settlement of a place called the Newberry Plantation, in the Narragansett Country. As the proposed location was far from the sea, a positive disadvantage when transportation by land was difficult or costly, in November, 1686, an agreement was made between the same parties,

to lay out a meet and Considerable tract of Land in the Township of Rochester [now Kingston] about the long meadow Kickameeset, above Captain John Fones his house, wherein each family that Desire it shall have one hundred Acres of upland in two divisions; Vizt. a houselott Containing Twenty Acres, being Twenty Rodd broad in front, laid out in Due Order with a street or high way of six Rodd broad to Run betweene the said Lotts upon which they shall front.

Secondly. That the second Divission to make up the said hundred acres of upland shall be Laid out on the Westerne side of the said houselotts as neere as the Land will beare, That all the said meddow with that which lyeth adjacent betweene the southerne purchase and west line that is to Run from Jno. Andrews norther Corner above the path shall be divided into one hundred parts, each one to have his proportion according to the quantity of Land he shall take up

[1] Freeland, *Records of Oxford*, 138. David de Bonrepos was a witness, in 1713, to the will of Mark Dusochany, of Richmond County, N. Y., and in 1719 the will of Elie de Bonrepos, of New Rochelle, was proved, with bequests to children Elie and Esther. *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1893, 127, 189. In 1734 the will of Rev. David de Bonrepos, minister in Richmond county, was proved, mentioning wife, Martha, Blanche de Bonrepos, wife of Henry Chaden, and three sons of Alexander de Bonrepos. *Ib.*, 1894, 148.

Echantillon

De la Doctrine que les Jesuites enseignent aus Sauvages du Nouveau Monde, pour les convertir tirée de leurs propres Manuscrits trouvés ces Jours passés en *Albanie* Proche de *Nieuyorke*

Examinee

Par *Ezechiel Carré* cy deuant Ministre de la *Rochebalais* en *France*, â present Ministre de l'Eglise Francaise de *Boston* en la Nouvelle Angleterre.

Eprouvés les Esprits S'ils sont de Dieu.

1 Jean 4. 1.

Imprimé â *Baston* par *Samuel Green*. 1690.

and subscribe for; That there shall be laid out for the said Mr. Ezekiell Carré the present minister One hundred and fifty Acres of upland in the same manner and meadow proportionable gratis to him and his heires for ever, and one hundred acres of upland and meadow, proportionable to an orthodox Protestant ministry and Fifty Acres of like Land towards the maintenance of protestant schoolemasters for the Towne forever.[1]

The Narragansett Country, otherwise called the King's Province, was one of the divisions placed by James II under the government of Edward Randolph and the royal Council; and in June, 1686, a meeting of the four commissioners appointed from that Council — Joseph Dudley, John Winthrop, Edward Randolph and Richard Wharton — held a session at Rochester to pass upon questions pertaining to the King's Province. With them were associated Elisha Hutchinson and John Saffin, so that the three men who were probably the most active in the Narragansett Country proprietors were represented on this commission. Among other matters they altered the name of Rochester to Kingston and fixed its bounds as follows:

[they] shall be accounted to begin at Mill River, to the eastward of James Reynolds, Sen'r his house, and to extend to the westermost bounds of the tract of land commonly known by the name of Pettequamscot, as it is bounded by the agreement made the 25th of December, 1679, including the northern and southern tracts, purchased by the late John Winthrop, Esq'r, and others; also said Pettequamscot tract, and the inhabitants thereof.[2]

Into the long dispute over the ownership and jurisdiction of this tract it is not proposed to go. The settlement of the colony of French was intended to exclude the encroaching interlopers, and obtain some return from the lands. Forty-five French families took up land, built a church and twenty-five houses and with native thrift prospered until dispersed by violence in the contest for jurisdiction between Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island. Of the whole number of forty-five families who had settled at Frenchtown, all but two left for New York, and those two removed to Boston. But two individuals remained in the colony. These settled at Newport

[1] A copy of the agreement is in Trumbull Papers, xx. 114, and is printed in 5 *Collections*, ix. 171. The copy does not give the signatures of the French associates.

[2] *R. I. Col. Rec.*, iii. 201.

and appear as the first signers of the petition — in favor of an Episcopal church in Rhode Island.[1]

Carré appears to have departed for Boston.[2] The year and the occasion of his coming are not known any more than the time and cause of his leaving Boston. Savage believed that Pierre Daillé was the first minister of the French protestant church, and that he came about 1686; but this is ten years too early, for Daillé did not resign from his New York church until 1696, when he accepted a call from Boston. Between the departure of De Bonrepos (if he ever served the Boston church) and the coming of Daillé, a period of nine years, Ezekiel Carré entered, but left so shadowy a mark as to have been completely forgotten. He is known to have preached in Boston in 1689, for his sermon on *The Charitable Samaritan* was translated by Nehemiah Walter and published by Samuel Green in that year. That was pronounced "in the French Church at Boston." [3]

The second sermon, printed in French, is interesting not only as a newly discovered record of Carré's connection with Boston, but also for its contents and for its association with Cotton Mather. Carré had access to certain writings of the Jesuit Father, Jacques Bruyas,[4] missionary to the Iroquois. Among them was a Catechism in the "Onneiout" language, with a Latin version, page for page. In twenty-four chapters the principal points of religion were set forth, but it was the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters which most impressed the French protestant and aroused his apprehension on the teaching thus conveyed to the Indians. In an introductory letter addressed to "Messieurs Les Anciens de l'eglise Françoise de

[1] The two names on the petition were Gabriel Bernon and Pierre Ayrault. Arnold, *History of Rhode Island*, I. 497, 559. See *Cal. State Papers*, America, 1704–1705, 697.

[2] The account of Carré in *Collections of the Huguenot Society of America*, I. xviii, is too confused to be accepted. A family of Louis Carré is mentioned in the records of the New York church.

[3] Evans, 464.

[4] Bruyas was born at Lyons in 1637 and came to Canada in 1665. From that time until his death in 1712 he was among the Five Nations. He spoke the Mohawk perfectly and knew the various dialects of the Iroquois. From 1693 to 1700 he was at the head of all the missions in Canada. There is in the Catholic Church, at Caughnawaga, Canada, a *Catechisme agnier* in the Mohawk language, of his composition, a MS. of 27 ll. A portion of a letter is reproduced in *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites), LI. 142. See also *Ib.*, L. 323, and Pilling, *Bibliography of the Iroquoian Languages*, 22.

Boston" he believes that they could never have seen "en peu de mots ce que l'Enfer a enfanté de plus odieus," or that ever there had come from the depths (*pays de l'Abyme*) clouds as dense as these locusts (*sauterelles*) had spread in the New World! Likening the Jesuits to the locusts in the ninth of the Apocalypse he believed that surely their five months were not far from coming to an end, for it was not possible that God would wish further to endure those abominations.[1]

The part of the *Catechisme* examined was as follows:

CHAPITRE 14[e] DU PARADIS

L'Indien Prosèlyte demande, comment la terre qui est en Paradis est elle faite, est elle belle?

Le Pere Jesuite rêpond. Elle est tres belle, il ny manque rien de tout ce qúon peut manger ny de tout ce qni est necèssaire pour Se vètir, on y est heureus en tout si quêcun dit, je desire dêtre vètu dùn tel habit, aussitôt voila ce't habit qui se pre'sente, desireton de manger quêque chose, Jesus Christ láporte aussitôt. D. Travaille t'on dans le ciel. R. on ny fait rien du tout, on n'y sème point et on ny est point oblige' de labourer les Champs parce quil y a toûjours du froment meur, il a en tout téms des Citrouilles et des fe'ves d'Inde, &c. D. Les Arbres y sontils faits comme ici bas? R. Non, car les arbres du paradis sont extremement beaus, ils sont toûjours fleuris, et leurs feuilles toujours vertes ne tombent jamais, les herbes ny meurent point. D. Ya til un soleil comme celuy qui Luit ici, y pleut-il y faitil duvent, y tonnetil? R. Non, car il y fait toûjours clair, et jamais le ciel ny est Brouillé. D. Y a til des fruits dans le Ciel? R. Il y a apparence. D. Comment ces fruits sontils faits? R. Ce sont des fruits excellens, châque arbre en est charge', on en ceuille tous les jours, cependant on ne'n voit point la fin, parce que vous ne'n ave's pas plutôt mange' un, qúun autre naist aussitôt en la place. D. faitil froid dans le Ciel? R. il n'y a point d'hyuer, mais unête' continue'l. D. Y a til beaucoup d'habitans dans le Ciel? R. Il y en a un tre's grand nombre. D. Se connessent ils tous? R. Ils se connessent et sils sont parens, ils se saluent tous reciproquement et ne se refusent rien les auns us autres. D. Les habitans du Ciel sont ils beaus? R. Ils sont tous très beaux, car ceus qui á lenr mort ètayent difformes seront racomodès, ils ne seront plus aveugles, ni sourds ni boiteux, car on les refera tous dans le Ciel. D. On nèst donc point malade dans le Cièl? R. Non,

[1] Revelation, IX. 5.

on y viura dans une grande tranquillitè, il n'y aura jamais de peste, de famine ni de guerre et on n'y mourra plus. D. S'ennuye t'on dans le Ciel? R. Non, car cènt ans sont comme si vous n'avies passe' quún jour ils prennent un grand plaisir á se regarder les uns les autres.

Into the clergyman's examination of the doctrine we need not enter. He had gained the countenance of Cotton Mather, ever ready to turn his pen to aid in spreading good doctrine by means of the printed page. At Carré's request, or quite as likely at his own instance, Mather wrote a preface. In all probability the French translation was made by Carré, for Mather did not again print in French until 1704,[1] or write in that language until 1724.[2] Confident as he was of his own abilities, there are too few evidences in his own writings of a knowledge of French sufficient to compose in that language. As early as 1687 he had shown good intentions towards the French refugees, now coming in every form of wretchedness by way of the West Indies:

As I would show all the Kindness that I can unto the *French Refugees* arrived in this Countrey, so I would earnestly recommend it unto their Ministers to awaken that People unto a greater Observation of the *Lord's Day;* by the Neglect whereof they have given too much Scandal.[3]

The preface follows:

Préface du Docte et Reverend Ministre

Monsieur *Cotton Mather* pour Servir d'àprobation au prèsent ècrit.

IL Est beaucoup plus aisè de dire pour quelle fin les Diables ont abusè les premiers habitans deces affreux deserts del'Amèrique, que de dècouvrir par quellevoye ils y sont venus. Lors que lèclattante *trompètte de* l'Evangile resonna dans le monde Ancien, Les Diables se Consolerent dans la Satisfaction, dàvoir dans *le nouveau monde*, une prodigieuse multitude depeuples, sur lesquels ils sáttendayent

[1] *Le Vrai Patron des Sains Paroles*, Boston, 1704.

[2] *Une Grande Voix du ciel à la France*, of which no copy is known. It was printed at Boston, at Mather's cost, and was to be sent to France. The first textbook was Thomas Blair's *Some short and easy Rules, teaching the true Pronuciation of the French Language*, Boston, 1720.

[3] *Diary*, I. 134.

derègner bien lontèms paisiblement et sans contradiction. Mais la derniere arrivèè des Europêens, dans ces Lieux, a donne' uneterrible allarme aces anciens hôtes Infernaux, et les a fait aprehender deperdre leurs sujets, ausquels on presèntait le se'gneur Jesus Christ. *La Religion Chrètienne* est donc apresent transplantée dans L'Amèrique, ou on ne pratiquait autrefois que L'infame doctrine des Diables; Mais cèst par de diffèrens Motifs, et par conse'quent par des manieres differentes, que cette Sainte Religion est prechèe, a present aus Sauvages de ces malheureuxdeserts. Les *Eglises Protestantes Reformèes dela Neuvelle* Angleterre, ont fait beaucoup de depense, et pris beaucoup depène, pour convertir les Indiens á la foy; et quoyqùils Nous ayent êtè plus á Charge quâ profit, nous navons pas laisse, detravailler a ètablir parmy eus plusieurs Eglises bien reglèes, et á faire Imprimer *la Bible* et plusieurs autres bons Livres en leur langue Barbare; Levenerable Monsieur *Jean Eliot* est celui quy a travaillè heureusement à ce noble Ouvrage; ainsi ceque nous avons fait en cette rencontre, a ête' purement pour Làmour du se'gneur Jesus, desa *veritè* & *deses voyes;* tellement que la conversion dùn indien parmy nous est Une plus grande production, que mille autres de celles quon vante tant ailleurs; parce que nôtre dessein nà pas êtè de faire la Chose a demy mais dàmener lóuvrage á sa perfection. Dautrecotè, *L'Eglise Romaine* ná pas ète' oiseuse, dans cette entreprise; carou Dieu a son Eglise le Diable ya aussi sa Chapelle. Les *Missionaires duPape* nont pas manquè de se transporter dans ces Lieus oú les richesses des Sauvages les appelloyent ils ont aportè á ces povres miserables vne partie dela foy Chrètiene, deguiseè et corrompue des abominations du papisme, qui nést autre Chose au fonds quune copié fidele du Paganisme. Il mèst tombé depuis peu, entre les mains, par vne rencontre imprèvûe, les papiers Originaux dun *Jesuite Francais* Emissaire de *Canada*, pour les Indiens du voisinage; [et] mon Reverend Ami, *Monsieur Carré*, a extrait ce petit *Echantillon* des principes empoisonnés, que ces convertisseurs Papistes insinuent á leurs proselytes, qui nén continuent pas moins *d'etre Enfans de la Ge'ne* quáuparauant; cét Extrait est fait avec beaucoup de bonne foy et d'integrite'; et je ne Souhaitte par seulement qùil Jnspire, a tous les hommes vne juste Indignation pour détruire le Papisme, mais quil nous engage aussi á travailler plus fortement à la propagation de la foy. A Dieu ne plaise que les *Enfans du Royamme* soyent moins diligens pour cequi les concerne que les *Enfans Decemonde.* Quoyque Je sois *Americain*, et que je mintéresse assés dans les Affaires delAmerique, Jesuis bien Content dignorer plusieurs Choses qui regardent ladestinée de ces Indiens; car Dieu ne nous en parle point dans saparole, et je Serais bien fâche' d'aller consulter *Le Diable*, comme fit le *Pére*

Coton surcesujet. cependant jene pers pas espérance que ces missions Papales náyent preparé le Chemin pour quelque Chose de plus sincere et de plus salutaire; peut-étre ontils fait, que'que Chose d'aprochant *aus Prosèlytes de la porte*, parmi ces Barbares, qui sont a present mieux en ètat de receuoir et dàmbrasser une plus grande Lumiere quand il plaira a Dieu de leur enuoyer; la quelle *le pere des Lumieres* veuille hâter! cest dequoy je le prie fortement.

Cotton Mather.

The membership of the French church in Boston was too small to absorb an edition of such a tract, and it could make no general appeal to the English speaking population of Boston. It may be assumed that it was to be sent to Canada and Western New York, where it might serve to offset the doctrine taught by the French Jesuit missionaries. That a single copy only has been preserved is no proof of this, for works truly popular and printed in large numbers have completely disappeared. Had it been sent to the Huguenots in New York and Carolina, some mention of it might be expected or a second example found. From the bibliographical view it is interesting as being the first work printed in the French language in any English colony on the continent of North America. It evidently strained the knowledge as well as the types of the printer, for, as a rule, he uses only one accent (the grave accent) on the letter *e* and the acute on *a* where the grave should be. If an acute is on an *e* it has been made of a separate piece of type.[1] The wonder is that Green finished the task as well as he did, and his professional pride, somewhat troubled, led him to insert at the end something like an apology or invocation to the reader:

Avèrtissement.

Le Lécteur pardonnera d'autant plus aisèment les fautes survenues á cètte E'dition que L'imprimeur nèntend ni nôtre Langue ni l'Ortografe. L'on se tiendra pour averti aussi que les Originaus *dont il est question, sont conservès surement ici entre les mains du fidele et irrèprochable Ministre Monsieur* Mather, *afin qûon y puisse avoir recours en cas de besoin.*

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. Wendell, Lord, Minot, and Eliot.

[1] Exceptions may be seen on the title-page — *trouvés*.

MEMOIR

OF

JAMES BRADLEY THAYER

By CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH.[1]

James Bradley Thayer was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, on January 15, 1831, and died in Cambridge, February 14, 1902. He was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society October 10, 1889, but was not a frequent attendant at the meetings of the Society nor did he take an active part in its proceedings. In 1901 and 1902 he was elected a Member of the Council and served till his death. In the March meeting of 1897 he paid an extended and beautiful tribute to the memory of his former partner George O. Shattuck. At meetings in March, 1893, and in 1899, and in those of February, October and December, 1901, he took part in the discussion of topics introduced by members. In fact he was too busy a man and too deeply interested in other branches of learning to devote much time to historical studies except those relating to the development of the law.

He was a man of singularly acute and judicial mind and was in the highest sense of the word a self-made man. Undiscouraged by many difficulties in his youth he made himself at last a scholar and a man of general culture. He was the son of Abijah Wyman and Susan Bradley Thayer. His father, of good New England stock, was an unsuccessful man and was constantly changing his business. He was at one time publisher of the *Hampton Gazette*, but it was not prosperous and

[1] The writer gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to Dean Hall's elaborate memoir of Professor Thayer in *Great American Lawyers*.

in 1835 he moved to Philadelphia and engaged in business, but unsuccessfully, and in 1840 he returned to Massachusetts and attempted the culture of silkworms. He then removed to Northampton and was employed on editorial work on the *Hampshire Herald*, but finally this was given up and he became a broker. These details are mentioned to show the difficulties which young James surmounted in his acquisition of an education much beyond that acquired by most boys of far better opportunities. James until the year 1845 attended school in Northampton, earning his board by sundry small services. He worked in a printing office and for eight months in a physician's office. In 1847 while working as a clerk in a grocery store he determined to go to college and in 1848, assisted pecuniarily by kind friends, he entered Harvard College without condition and his career as a scholar began. He was an excellent student and one of the most popular men in his class. He was obliged also to do outside work to pay his expenses and among other things taught school during the long winter vacation. He graduated with high honors in 1852, was elected a member of the Phi Beta Kappa and Class Orator. After graduation he taught school for two years at Milton and began his literary career with a short biography of Fisher Ames, and in 1853 he contributed letters to the *Evening Post* relating to the Far West, which was then the city of Chicago. He was at first attracted to the ministry as a profession, but in 1854 he definitely decided to become a lawyer and returned to Cambridge and entered the Law School, graduating therefrom with high honors in 1856. He was admitted to the Suffolk Bar in that year and became a partner of William J. Hubbard, which partnership lasted until 1864. In 1865 he joined the firm of Chandler and Shattuck and remained in the practice of the law in Boston until 1874, when he was appointed Royall Professor of Law in the Harvard Law School, accepted the appointment and began his real life work.

His success at the bar it is unnecessary to describe in detail. He was not a fluent speaker and his arguments were perhaps too judicial for a successful practice before a jury. He was, however, a thoroughly well-read lawyer and was recognized as such by the bar. He was a contributor also to Bouvier's *Law Dictionary* and the *American Law Review* and assisted in

the revision of the 12th Edition of Kent's *Commentaries*. He also continued his studies and was a frequent and valued contributor to the *Evening Post* and the *Boston Daily Advertiser* and at times to the *North American Review* and the *Atlantic Monthly*. In 1872 he was offered a professorship of English at Harvard College but was unable to accept the position. The offer itself was an unsolicited tribute to his scholarship. He had also added to and kept fresh his knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages and he had the unusual, almost unique, ability to review successfully translations of Lucretius by Johnson, of the *Aeneid* by Cranch, of Plutarch's *Morals* by Goodwin, of Dante's *Purgatorio* by Parsons, of *Faust* by Bayard Taylor, and of Lessing's *Laocoon* by Miss Frothingham. He also wrote criticisms of various works of poetry, and of Mill's *Utilitarianism*. After his connection with the Law School his time was entirely occupied with the law and his specialties in that science.

In 1874, therefore, after eighteen years of practice of the law he took up what was the real work of his life. He began his professional work just at the time of the creation of what was a new Law School. The old professors and their methods had all vanished and Langdell had begun to establish the new system of teaching law by the case method. Professors Gray, Ames, Thayer and Langdell were the founders of the new system which has revolutionized the teaching of law all over the Anglo-Saxon world. The specialty to which Thayer devoted himself was the law of evidence, and early in his teaching he had determined to write a treatise on the law of evidence and for many years he studied the subject and more especially in its evolution from its connection with the jury system. He therefore made an exhaustive study of the older laws of trials, the development of the jury system in England after the reign of Henry II as shown in the early English chronicles, judicial records and legal writings. The result of these investigations was the publication of Professor Thayer's most important single work, *The Preliminary Treatise on Evidence at the Common Law*, published in 1898, and which established firmly his reputation as a writer and student of the science of law. He had previously prepared for the use of his classes in 1892 his *Select Cases on Evidence*, a new edition of which appeared in

1900 and which has proved to be one of the most successful case books ever published, if not the most successful.

Professor Thayer, however, did not confine his interests to that subject only. He became a recognized authority on Constitutional Law, and he published in 1895 his *Cases on Constitutional Law* in two large volumes, containing not only all the great decisions on that subject but also a large amount of historical material illustrating the growth of political and governmental theories. He also used in these volumes extracts from his address on *The Origin and Scope of the American Doctrine of Constitutional Law*, delivered at Chicago in 1893 before the Congress on Jurisprudence and Law Reform.

His reputation as a sound constitutional lawyer led President McKinley to offer him a place on the Philippine Commission in 1900, which honor he was obliged to decline. Nor was it known until after his death that he had drafted a large part of the Constitutions of the two Dakotas.

A widespread recognition of his legal scholarship was awarded to him from various quarters and among others the University of Iowa gave him a degree of Doctor of Laws in 1891, Harvard gave him a similar degree in 1894, and Yale in 1901. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, the American Bar Association, the Association of American Law Schools, the Selden Society and many others.

Of his qualities as a teacher of law his associates and scholars have expressed their unequivocal admiration. Professor Williston, one of his pupils, in an article in the *Harvard Law Review*, describes his method as a teacher.

> He was infinitely patient with the poorly gifted but he did not let the limits of their comprehension define the boundaries of the work in his courses. He had little inclination to develop from his own mind a perfectly logical or entirely consistent body of legal doctrine — the effort of his teaching was to show exactly what the law was. . . . Accordingly he aimed to bring out the precise legal significance of each case he dealt with. . . . He never found more in a case than actually was there and nothing that was there escaped him.

The same writer described the man himself in words more apt than I can give:

Few can have attended his lectures without learning more than the legal doctrines which were the direct objects of their study. Something at least of the accurate and careful habits of mind, the patience in wearisome investigation, the absolute intellectual sincerity, the never failing kindness and courtesy which distinguished the teacher must have borne fruit in the minds and hearts of the pupils.

Mr. Thayer as a man and genial companion an old friend describes as one whose daily life was an example and his intimacy an education, and one "in whom to the qualities which make men attractive, sweetness of disposition, nobility of character, dignity of presence, cordiality of manner, thoughtful kindness, there was added the indefinable something which is oftener attributed to women than to men — charm."

He was a man of strong religious faith. His early inclination towards the ministry and his intimate friendship with Emerson gave a vitality and vigor to his Unitarian belief not common among busy men. He was always ready to contribute his share to the success of the yearly Unitarian gatherings and at the 75th Anniversary of the founding of the American Unitarian Association in 1900 he made one of the principal addresses — his subject being "Emerson and Religion." He was also President of the Unitarian Festival. In speaking on the value and use of the Bible, he said: "Let us continue in dealing with this precious and fragrant possession of our sacred literature . . . to deal with it not merely with reverent affection but honestly, also, as those whose chief reverence and affection are set on things behind the book." He however favored honest criticism to save it from the influence of routine and tradition.

In spite of his many occupations Professor Thayer found time to interest himself in public matters. During the civil war he was Secretary of the Executive Committee of the New England Loyal Publication Society, sending out editorials and newspaper articles to the country newspapers — a work of great importance and involving untiring labor. He was also deeply interested in the Indian question which resulted in the passage by Congress of the Dawes Bill, and wrote many magazine and other articles advocating its passage and its proper administration.

His classmate and friend Mr. S. L. Thorndike thus describes his independent interest in public events:

> Another aspect in which it would be pleasant to speak of Thayer was his citizenship, in which he was as conscientious as in any daily duty. He did his own thinking and his question upon any proposed measure, whether of the Nation, the State or the City, was whether it was the right thing, not what party or what men had launched it. . . . He could never have been a politician, in the ordinary sense, and could never, even if his busy life had not prevented, have gone into politics to advance the interests of any party or any individual, least of all himself.

His home life was unusually happy. In 1861 he married Sophia Bradley Ripley of Concord. He lived to see his two sons William and Ezra achieve deserved distinction, one as a distinguished physician and the younger as a prominent and successful lawyer.

MARCH MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, Mr. LODGE, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Lt. Commander Nathaniel F. Thayer, a lithograph of a group of views of the buildings connected with the United States Naval Radio School, Harvard University, 1917–1919.

From Mrs. John Storer Cobb, a heliotype of a pen-and-ink sketch of the Crematory at West Roxbury, also one of the ground plan.

From Mr. Murdock, two large framed lithographs of "Leaving Brighton Hotel for the Mill-Dam," one in winter, and one in summer, published by Haskell and Allen, 14 Hanover Street, Boston, 1871.

From Mr. Minot, a silver medal of the Pasteur Institute, Paris, 1888.

From Mr. Norcross, a bronze medal struck in France to commemorate the capture of Jerusalem by the Allies in 1917.

By purchase, a photograph of the Society's building at 30 Tremont Street taken, with the Boston Museum, by William T. Clark, one of the rear of the Museum from Court Square, by Mr. Clark, just before the building was completely demolished, a lithographic portrait of Daniel Webster, by J. H. Bufford, on a piece of sheet music published by Oliver Ditson & Co. in 1861, and a lithograph, by Tappan & Bradford, perhaps in December, 1849, of "Prof. G. H. Boulet's Gymnasium, Fencing, Sparring and Pistol Academy, No. 46 Washington Street, Boston."

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from George A. Plimpton, accepting his election as a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The Editor reported the following accessions of manuscript:

From Mrs. Robert S. Russell, fourteen letters from Dunbar James Douglas, sixth Earl of Selkirk, to Thomas G. Cary, letters to and from Mr. Cary, the MS. and a printed copy of Cary's *Oration* at

Brattleborough, Vermont, July 4, 1821, with other pamphlets by the same writer. Also a MS. history of California by Thomas G. Cary, Jr., comprising eleven notebooks, two of which are concerned with the early history of California, and nine with its history from the Mexican war to the Vigilance Committee of 1851. In 1884 Mr. Thomas G. Cary gave to the Society the subsequent series of seven volumes, dealing with the more recent events in Californian history. Mr. Cary, the younger, lived in California for a number of years, and this history is a record of his interest.

From Miss Albertina von Arnim, of Brookline, a careful study of Ligny and Waterloo, prepared by her father, Theodore F. von Arnim (1826–1900), with the aid of his eldest son; together with some printed volumes on the battles.

From J. Franklin Jameson, a contemporary copy of the address of the inhabitants of the town of Amherst, Massachusetts, to the President of the United States, August 30, 1808, respecting the embargo.[1]

By deposit: From the Bostonian Society a letter book of Jonathan Belcher, 1724–1725. The Historical Society already possessed nine volumes of Belcher papers, the history of which is a good example of the wanderings of MS. material. Four of the volumes were received from Jeremy Belknap in 1791, one from Joseph McKean in 1800, one from an unknown source before 1809, one from the American Antiquarian Society in February, 1838, one in March of the same year from Nathaniel G. Snelling, one from Charles H. Warren in 1858, and now a tenth from the Bostonian Society.

By purchase: Ames' *Astronomical Diary*, 1762, and Low's *Astronomical Diary*, 1770, with MS. entries by Joseph Haynes of Haverhill.

A journal, kept by George S. Baldwin, of a whaling voyage from New Bedford to the coast of New Holland and elsewhere, 1838, in the barque *Cornelia*, George E. Netcher, master. Also of the schooner *General Cobb*, of Newport, Rhode Island, John Hammond, master, 1842. Also 130 letters of George S. Baldwin, 1837–1881, giving an account of his whaling voyages and stay in California.

A collection of Maine and Massachusetts papers of George Thacher, 1734–1846.

Mr. MORSE gave an interesting account of the occasion which led Mr. von Arnim to undertake his study of Waterloo, and of the collection of material incident to the preparation of the manuscript. Miss von Arnim writes:

[1] See p. 161, *infra*.

My father, Theodore F. von Arnim was born in Germany, October, 1826, and came to Boston in 1850, in consequence of not being allowed by his father to enter the army, and make that his profession. He went into business, and in 1853 married Elizabeth A. Cotton. He was always interested in military affairs, and followed the Franco-Prussian war of 1870–71 very closely, afterwards visiting all the battle-grounds. In 1893 he became much interested in a book by John C. Ropes on Napoleon's campaigns, and, not agreeing with some of the statements in it, he had some correspondence with Mr. Ropes. In order to inform himself thoroughly he bought what books on the subject he could find, and began to write an account of some of the battles. Taken ill in 1899, he was aided by his eldest son, who had taken great interest in the work, and at the time of my father's death in December, 1900, he had almost finished making a type-written copy of the manuscript; but later, owing to various business troubles, he had not made the final corrections and additions in this copy before his death in July, 1918.

The President announced the death on March 2, in New York, of Edward Doubleday Harris, elected a Resident Member of the Society March 11, 1871, and a Corresponding Member December 8, 1909. Both his father and his grandfather were members, and his grandfather was made a member August, 1792, the second year of the Society's existence.

The President announced the appointment of the following Committees, in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate Officers for the ensuing year: Messrs. Joseph Grafton Minot, Robert Grant, and George Foot Moore.

To examine the Library and Cabinet: Messrs. Russell Gray, Nathan Matthews, and John Woodford Farlow.

To examine the Treasurer's Accounts: Messrs. Charles Pelham Greenough, and Henry Herbert Edes.

Charles Francis Adams, of Concord, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

George Russell Agassiz, of Newport, Rhode Island, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

It was voted that Chapter III of the By-Laws be amended by inserting after the third paragraph the following paragraph:

Whenever from any cause a vacancy occurs in any office of the Society the Council may fill the same until the next meeting.

Mr. MINOT showed a photostat reproduction of the compilation of the "Book of the General Lauues and Libertyes concerning the Inhabitants of the Massachusets," printed at Cambridge, in 1648, being the second compilation of laws of the colony. Of the first, published about 1641, no copy exists, and the word "published" does not necessarily mean that it was actually printed. The introduction to the second compilation leaves the question in doubt, for the laws therein contained "were not to be published as the laws of this jurisdiction; nor were they ever voted in Court." The Boston Athenæum has this first compilation in manuscript, and it was reproduced in facsimile by the City of Boston in 1889.

The second compilation, and probably the first to be printed, is the volume now presented. Although 600 copies were printed, the work had so completely disappeared as to have left doubt of its ever having been published. In 1906 a copy was found in a small private library in England, and passed into the collection of E. Dwight Church, of New York. That collection was acquired by Mr. Henry E. Huntington, of New York, to whose generous recognition of our claims the Society owes this reproduction. It remains a unique copy. As the foundation-stone of Massachusetts laws its historical is even beyond its bibliographical value.

The reproduction is given "with the express understanding that no facsimile reproductions or reprints are to be made from it: that right being reserved to the Donor." It may be added that there is every reason to believe that Mr. Huntington expects to issue facsimile reproductions of this volume as well as of other unique pieces in his great collection — a certain promise of princely benefactions to history and literature.

The Society adopted the following vote:

That the thanks of the Massachusetts Historical Society be given to Mr. Henry E. Huntington for his courteous and generous gift of a copy of the Massachusetts Laws of 1648.

Mr. CHARLES P. GREENOUGH read the following document:

TRANSMITTENDUM.

Near the end of the year Eighteen hundred and forty-eight, the undersigned, being then a poor boy and a Freshman in Harvard College, received the sum of Thirty Dollars, with the request that

he would expend it in the purchase of an overcoat. It came from the Honorable Edward Everett, then President of the college, who, having observed at morning prayers an obscure Freshman from the country coming in without an overcoat, at a time when most of the students had begun to wear them, suspected the reason and made this kind and thoughtful and generous provision for a remedy.

No conditions or suggestions, other than the one above mentioned, were connected with the gift. But it has seemed to the undersigned, being now for the first time able to gratify his wishes in this respect, that he could not in any better way express his gratitude for a gift bestowed upon him with such thoughtful kindness, than by transmitting the same sum of money and providing for its perpetual transmission among persons in a similar situation to his own at the time when he received it, to be used for the same purpose for which it was given to him.

He wishes, therefore, that this parchment, together with the sum of thirty dollars (accompanying it) which is to be expended in the purchase of an overcoat, may be forever transmitted in succession to some undergraduate at Harvard College to whom such assistance would be of especial service. And the successive holders thereof are requested to write upon the parchment their name, the date when they received and delivered it and the place of their residence before entering college. They are also requested to transmit the parchment and the money as soon as their circumstances will comfortably permit, and not sooner. And they are especially requested to provide, by will or otherwise, against any possible failure in the transmission by them or their representatives.

And now the undersigned, gratefully recalling the kindness which first placed this money in his hands, delivers it to his successor, wishing for him and all who follow him the enjoyment of a thick and comfortable garment; therewith also desiring for them the inward warmth of an innocent and virtuous life.

James Bradley Thayer.

Boston, December 17, 1863.

Mr. Lord spoke on

Alexander Scammell.

I submit an autograph letter from Alexander Scammell written while he was a school teacher in Plymouth, dated April 29th — the year not given, but a memorandum in pencil suggests the year 1770, which I believe to be correct.

The letter gracefully expresses his affection and respect for his mother and his high appreciation of his duties and responsi-

bilities as a schoolmaster. It is of interest too to recall that in December, 1770, he, then a school teacher in Plymouth, was the first of a long line of poets to write a song in honor of the Pilgrims.

He was born in Mendon, now Milford, March 24, 1747, was graduated at Harvard in the class of 1769, and received a degree of A.M. from that college in 1772. His father was Dr. Leslie Scammell, who came to Boston from England in 1738 and settled in Mendon, where he practised until his death in 1753. His mother was Jane Libbey. In the biographical notices of Alexander Scammell he is said to have taught school in Kingston, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and Shapleigh, Maine, and in some of the notices Plymouth is included in the list.

By reference to published letters of Colonel Scammell which appeared in the *Historical Magazine*[1] and by an examination of the town records and the records of the Old Colony Club, it is possible to determine with substantial accuracy the dates of Mr. Scammell's service as a school teacher in Plymouth.

Upon leaving college Alexander Scammell went first to Kingston, Massachusetts, and began his school teaching, as appears in one of the printed letters referred to, in August, 1769; but in a second letter, dated at Kingston October, 1769, he states that he had engaged Plymouth's school and in a letter of December, 1769, he describes himself as having lived in Plymouth about six weeks. At the town meeting held in Plymouth on Monday, November 12, 1770, the town voted and directed the school committee for grammar school to agree with Mr. Alexander Scammell, our present schoolmaster, to keep the school the current year and to allow him sixty pounds lawful money therefor. At the town meeting held October 28, 1771, the town voted that they would not procure a person to assist Mr. Alexander Scammell, our present schoolmaster, in keeping the grammar school.

It is apparent then from these letters and records that Mr. Scammell was in Plymouth from December, 1769, to at least as late as October, 1771. But the records of the Old Colony Club show that he was admitted as a member of the club on December 21, 1771, and his name appears on the list of members

[1] Second Series, VIII. 129.

as eleventh in the total membership of twelve. After leaving Plymouth he became a surveyor in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, studied law with Gen. James Sullivan, was afterwards on the staff of General Sullivan, served in the Revolution as colonel of the Third New Hampshire Regiment, and was Adjutant General of the Continental Army from January 5, 1778, to January 1, 1781, when he resigned to take command of the First New Hampshire Regiment. He was wounded at Yorktown and died at Williamsburg, October 6, 1781. The inscription on his tombstone was prepared by David Humphreys.

During his life in Plymouth as a school teacher it appears from the Club records that at its meeting of Monday, December 24, 1770, to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, he was present with his classmate, Peleg Wadsworth, of Kingston, who rose to be a Brigadier General of militia in the Revolution, and at that celebration of the landing the first song written in honor of the Pilgrims, so far as I am advised, was sung. The words were written by the Plymouth school teacher Scammell and were set to the tune of "The British Hero." [1]

It is an interesting fact that at that date these two college classmates were teaching school at Plymouth, Mr. Wadsworth having a private school on Market Street and Mr. Scammell the Grammar school on School Street, the schoolhouse standing within my recollection on the right-hand side of the entrance to Burial Hill from Town Square, and in front of the line of stone tombs.

General Wadsworth married in 1772 Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel Bartlett of Plymouth, and after the Revolution settled in Portland, Maine, where his oldest daughter Zilpah was married to Stephen Longfellow, the father of the poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Possibly this family connection with Plymouth was one of the factors in influencing Mr. Longfellow to write "The Courtship of Myles Standish."

ALEXANDER SCAMMELL TO HIS MOTHER.

MUCH HONORD MOTHER:—Your kind advice, and ardent Prayers for my Welfare in your last Letter excited the warmest gratitude to

[1] Printed in 2 *Proceedings*, III. 417.

you, and brought to my mind the vast Obligations I am under to you for the almost infinite Pains you have taken to have me educated; the more I think of it, so much the greater I perceive the Obligations are. Your kind Wishes for my discharging my Duty in my present Employment; I hope (by God's Assistance and blessing upon my Endeavors) will be fulfil'd. If an honest and upright Intention for the Good and Welfare of those under my Care and Instruction, is sufficient, I am sure (so far as I know my own Heart) that I have discharg'd my Duty. But I am more and more sensible of the Importance Of my Busines, to think that teaching of youth to write, read, and Cypher comprehends the whole Duty of a Schoolmaster; is to have a very wrong Notion of School keeping. His Duty in my Opinion extends much farther, to the Cultivation of their Minds, and to instil into them good Sentiments. To rear the tender minds of youth to Virtue, to teach them proper Respect to Superiors, and Reverence to their divine Creator; is the indispensable Duty of one that has the Care and Education of Youth intrusted to him. To regulate such a Number of pleasant Youth as I have under my Care is an agreable tho very difficult Task, and that I may go thro it with Fidelity and Honor, I hope you will still continue your Prayers for me to the throne of Grace. I hope this Letter will find you in perfect Health as I am at present. Your dutiful Son

ALXDR. SCAMMELL.

April the *29th*

[Addressed] For my Hond. Mother.

Mr. THAYER read a note on

GEORGE WASHINGTON IN CAMBRIDGE.

The Journal of Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, from which I have had the honor of quoting before to this Society, is a quarry of interesting and sometimes important information. He was born, you will remember, at Newport, R. I., in 1754, and, deciding to fit himself to be a physician, he sailed out of Boston Harbor on the last ship that went out before the blockade in 1775. After studying in England and Scotland — Dr. John Fothergill, one of the most distinguished British practitioners of that generation was his kinsman and patron — he crossed to Holland, took the full course in medicine in the University of Leyden, received his degree of M.D. in 1780, and returned to this country at the close of the Revolutionary War. In 1783

he was appointed one of the first three professors of the Harvard Medical School, and served till 1812. He was a man of wide interests, much general information, and a difficult temper. He cherished his animosities with an almost religious devotion.

On settling in Cambridge, apparently about 1785, he occupied a little house on Waterhouse Street, which still stands, and there he dwelt until his death in 1846.

His Journal, the first part of which is missing, begins in 1828. The following passage deals with General Washington's life in Cambridge, and throws some presumptive evidence on the authenticity of the Elm as a historic monument:

March 5, 1840. My situation in the very pleasant town of Cambridge is inferior to none in the far-famed County of Middlesex — the scene of splendid deeds of and after our Declaration of Independence, where General Washington first drew his sword in its glorious cause in 1775. [From the front windows of my study I take in a view of the whole ground] and I yet converse with some who conversed with that illustrious man when he took command here, and began his glorious career. A sensible and very respectable Lady [Madame Wendell,[1] daughter of Brigadier Genl. Brattle, a royalist, and refugee from my country] gave me the following anecdote, viz.:

When Boston was occupied by the British, there was some firing across Charles River from between the British and our militia, which alarmed our women and frightened our children. General Washington occupied the largest and best house in Cambridge. Directly opposite resided a widow Lady, Mrs. Wendall above mentioned, who was filled with apprehension at the firing of cannon and bombs, now and then between the shore of Boston and Cambridge. Mrs. Wendall's Father was, what was called a Tory or Royalist, or adherent to the cause of King George. She had apprehensions not only for her own safety, but that of her father in Boston. He [Washington] therefore stopped his horse before her window and said to her, "Madam! there is no reason for your apprehension of danger to your life here or to that of your father from this noisy discharge of cannon and bombs from the Boston or Cambridge shores. You may rest in quiet repose night and day, for ought I know to the contrary at present. Should danger approach

[1] Of this lady Professor Wendell writes to me: "The Madam Wendell of that interesting Waterhouse reminiscence was Katharine Brattle, who in 1752 married John Mico Wendell (H. C. 1747), a son of Jacob and Sarah (Oliver) Wendell, of Boston, and an older brother of Oliver Wendell, Dr. Holmes' grandfather."

you by night or day, you shall know it in time in common with your females, all to rest in safety"; and he never passed that Ladies' window without a bow of protection to both *Whig* and *Tories;* so that General Gage himself had he come out of Boston to Cambridge could not have said more to tranquilize the fears of the female part of the community than what Washington judiciously intimated to the numerous "Tories" of Cambridge.

Purists among us note the repetitions and the somewhat disjointed syntax of Dr. Waterhouse, but these are common characteristics of very old men, and he was then eighty-six.

Mr. MURDOCK read the following letters and lines relating to

EDWARD GIBBON.[1]

On February 21, 1774, Johnson wrote to George Steevens, his associate in editing Shakespeare: "We are thinking to augment our club, and I am desirous of nominating you, if you care to stand the ballot, and can attend on Friday nights at least twice in five weeks: less than this is too little, and rather more will be expected. Be pleased to let me know before Friday." This letter was written on Monday, and Friday would be the 25th; but the election was not held until the following Friday, March 4, when Steevens was chosen, with Charles James Fox, Sir Charles Bunbury and Dr. George Fordyce. In informing Steevens of his election Johnson wrote: "a gentleman, proposed after you, was rejected." [2] Fox, proposed by Burke, had just been removed from the Treasury. Bunbury may have owed his election to Goldsmith, who failed in his support of Gibbon.

The identity of the gentleman who was rejected has not been known to editors of Boswell, nor has any one of them even made a conjecture. The well-kept mystery is solved by the second of the following letters.

GEORGE STEEVENS TO DAVID GARRICK.[3]

HAMPSTEAD, March 6th, 1774.

MY DEAR SIR, — Many thanks both for your suffrage and your congratulations, for they are equally honourable to me. I shall

[1] The originals are all in Mr. Murdock's collections.

[2] Boswell's *Johnson* (Hill), II. 273.

[3] This letter is printed in Garrick *Correspondence*, I. 613, but with the curious slip of repeating the initial "G," so as to read "but I believe Dr. G. will be the last man," etc., depriving the sentence of its point.

not fail to join the Club on Friday evening. Dr. Johnson desires I will call on him, and he will introduce me. Pray what is the usual time of meeting?

Mr. C. Fox pays you but a bad compliment; as he appears, like the late Mr. Secretary Morris,[1] to enter the Society at a time when he has *nothing else to do*.[2] If the *bon ton* should prove a contagious disorder among us, it will be curious to trace its progress. I have already seen it breaking out in Dr. G[oldsmith] under the form of many a waistcoat: but I believe Dr. J[ohnson] will be the last man in whom the symptoms of it will be detected.

Once more I thank you for your partiality in my favour, and shall live in the hope of meeting you on Friday Evening. I am, Dear Sir, your most obliged and faithful,

G. Steevens.

Pray who is this offended Author who appeals from your judgment to the Public? Your enemies always take care to justify your conduct by exposing their own productions.

David Garrick to George Steevens.

Hampton, March 8th, 1774.

My dear Sir, — I came here this morning almost dying with a headache attended with a small fever, and some symptoms of the Stone. I caught cold in the House of Commons yesterday,[3] and from my present feeling, I cannot, tho I am better this evening, guess how my indisposition will end: the Gentlemen of the Club assemble before nine, if you are with Dr. Johnson by 8, you will be in good time: I have receiv'd another letter from Mr. Scott with his remarks upon that difficult passage in Othello, *a fellow almost damn'd in a fair Wife*.[4] I will give you the letter with that curious one of Anti-mendax, if I am able to attend you, and nothing but illness shall prevent me.

[1] Probably Corbyn Morris (*d.* 1779), who gained reputation as Secretary of the Customs and Salt Duty in Scotland, and wrote much on finance. The word "late," in that event, must not be taken literally.

[2] Fox had recently received through one of the door-keepers of the House of Commons the following note: "Sir, — His Majesty has thought proper to order a new commission of the Treasury to be made out, in which I do not perceive your name. North."

[3] On March 7 Lord North presented to the House of Commons the King's message on the "unwarrantable practices which have been lately concerted and carried on in North America, and particularly of the violent and outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay."

[4] The various conjectures on this line are given in Furness, *Othello*, 5, but Scott is not mentioned.

Do you know a gentleman whose name is *Gibbon*, propos'd by Dr. Goldsmith, and who was blackball'd the same evening you was elected? I have often taken notice of the *bon ton* you mention in many a waistcoat! in hopes of being able to attend your entrance on Fryday, I am Most Truly Your Sincere Friend and Servant,

D. GARRICK.

I write this upon the bed for I can't hold my head up.

[Addressed] To George Steevens Esqr., at Hampstead.

The following lines are on the front fly-leaf of a copy of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 1776, which is in its original binding. As to the date of the writing only a conjecture is possible. In the summer of 1779 Gibbon was appointed one of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, the chief labor involved being that of drawing £750 a year. The Board was abolished in 1782, and Gibbon applied to the ministry for the post of secretary of embassy at Paris, but failed to obtain it. The lines must have been written between 1779 and 1782.

King George in a fright
Lest Gibbon should write
  The story of Brittain's disgrace

Thought nothing so sure
His Pen to secure
  As to give the Historian a place

But his project is vain
'T is the Curse of his Reign
  That his measures should never succeed

Tho' He write not a line
Yet the Cause of decline
  In this Author's example we read

His Book well describes
How Corruption and Bribes
  Oerthrew the great Empire of Rome

And his writings declare
A degeneracy there
  Which his Conduct exhibits at Home.

C. J. Fox.

EDWARD GIBBON TO [PETER ELMSLEY].

LAUSANNE, March 28, 1789.

At length, Dear [ ],[1] you have conquered my indolence, and as I know that a few strokes of the pen will give you more pleasure than they can give me trouble, I hold myself inexcusable in having delayed them so long. From several of our common friends you had heard however of my safe return and pleasant situation. The autumn was remarkably populous in such Englishmen as I am not ashamed to acknowledge in foreign countries such as Douglas Wyndham, the Camelfords,[2] the Paynes,[3] Lord Beauchamp,[4] Lord Malmsbury,[5] and above all Mr. Fox, who passed a whole day alone with me on such a beautiful spot, and in such friendly philosophic converse, as he may possibly remember and regret in the full gratification of his ambition. The road now seems open but I do not perfectly understand his retreat to Bath. Unless his health be seriously deranged, it appears at this distance ill-timed and unreasonable. You excuse yourself from writing politicks as I am sufficiently informed by my other friends; a poor Apology! You must easily see that with my temper and habits, I can have no correspondent save Lord S[heffield], and whatsoever modesty you may feel or affect, I sincerely assure you that I set the highest value on the observations of a cool, intelligent, impartial man, who converses every day with all ranks of people from a Duke to a printer's devil. Therefore write on public as well as private business, and be persuaded that on all subjects your correspondence will be acceptable to a person who has long considered you not only as a bookseller but as a friend. Let me now however address the Bookseller: and first let me complain or lament that we have not found any mode tolerably cheap and tolerably speedy for the conveyance of light parcels, reviews, pamphlets and such books as provoke more than ordinary impatience. The heavy baggage arrived safe and soon at Lausanne, and I now possess a respectable library of at least 6000 volumes, superior to any in the Pays de Vaud, and more com-

[1] The name has been carefully obliterated, but enough remains to show the top and lower strokes of a capital and an *l* and *y* in the proper places for Elmsley, the bookseller (1736–1802). See *Dictionary of National Biography*, XVII. 310. Gibbon had offered the *Decline and Fall* for publication to Elmsley, but "my timid friend" declined it. In his will he left fifty pounds to Elmsley.

[2] Thomas Pitt, first Baron Camelford (1737–1793), who married Anne, daughter of Pinckney Wilkinson.

[3] Sir Ralph Payne, Lord Lavington (1738?–1807), married Françoise Lambertine, daughter of Henry, Baron Kolbel of Saxony.

[4] William Lygon (1747–1816) married Catherine Denn.

[5] James Harris, Baron Malmesbury (1746–1820), married Harriet Mary, daughter of Sir George Amyand.

pleat and valuable than it formerly was in Bentinck street: but Caplin [1] (I suppose) could not find room in the last box for the pamphlets some of which I should be sorry to lose (as for instance Mr. Walpole's mysterious mother [2]): they must not be forgotten in the box which I think you will be able to form and send soon after the receipt of this letter. It will consist. 1 Of such books as you have been able to procure since my departure and among which I hope to find Torfaeus Hist. Orcadum,[3] and Bellendenus de tribus luminibus [4] on which I would bestow a Russia binding. Surely this winter's sales will not have been unproductive. 2 Of new publications which may deserve to pass the water. I have not seen in the papers, any thing considerable or curious, except a voyage to Cooke's river in North America; [5] but you know that in general I am greedy of Voyages and travels. Are Lady Craven's [6] tolerable? Have any good editions of the Classics appeared? Has Robert Heron (I forget his real name) [7] published his lives of the Scotch Saints to which I am a subscriber. What is the quarrel between Bellendenus Parr, and the Bishop of Worcester? The Doctor has a keen pen, and the Bishop is fair game.[8] In short you know my taste and will supply me accordingly. Whenever you dispatch a cargo I must have the Monthly reviews and political magazines continued to the present time. What is the character of the Analytical review? Had you more leisure or a proper Secretary, I would desire you to collect the reviews, magazines etc. that speak of my history, and dropping the

[1] Richard Caplin, who lived with Gibbon many years in the capacity of a butler.

[2] A tragedy in five acts, in verse, first printed at Strawberry Hill in 1768 and again in 1781.

[3] Thormodus Torfaeus, *Orcades, seu rerum orcadensium historiae libri tres.* Hauniae, 1697, reprinted in 1715.

[4] William Bellenden, *De tribus luminibus Romanorum libri sexdecim*, Parisiis, 1634.

[5] Probably Nathaniel Portlock's *Voyage round the World; but more particularly to the North-West Coast of America.* London, 1789.

[6] Elizabeth Berkeley, Lady Craven, *Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople in* 1786. London, 1789.

[7] Robert Heron (1764–1807) was, at this time, studying for the church and later published an indifferent *History of Scotland* (1794–1799) in six volumes. Ten years earlier John Pinkerton had printed his *Letters of Literature* under the pseudonym of "Robert Heron," and in 1789 appeared his collection of *Ancient Lives of the Scottish Saints.*

[8] In 1787 Henry Homer published Guillielmus Bellendenus *Libri III, 1° de statu prisci orbis*, etc., with three unsigned dedications, prepared by Parr, to Edmund Burke, Lord North and Charles James Fox. Parr also republished some early writings of Richard Hurd, Bishop of Worcester, with a very caustic preface and dedication to Hurd. The story is briefly told in *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXVIII. 315.

printed extracts which form the greatest part of their accounts to transcribe their judgements and remarks of every complexion favourable, critical or even abusive: but I will not impose on your friendship, the disagreeable task of freely informing me of the opinion of the World. The best man and the most successful writer must hear many things, perhaps many truths offensive to his vanity.

Both your correspondents, in Holland and at Paris have executed their commissions with tolerable, and only tolerable success. The Dutchman is happy since he depends on you, but the poor Frenchman cannot obtain from Mr. Gibbon (a vile fellow) either money or a civil acknowledgment, and as *he* does not know the man he is probably astonished. Yet I hope to satisfy him in the course of next month, and I shall probably suppose myself but lately settled at Lausanne.

I have the expensive honour of being elected a fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, and I shall take it as a favour if you would discharge my entrance and subscription to both together with five Guineas which I promised Sir Joseph Banks for the African discoveries. If you will likewise settle Caplin's account, and inform me of the total amount, you may be *assured* of a draught by the return of the post. On the receipt of your second letter I was just going to relieve your Christmas poverty; but I am now very glad that *I haud my hond*, for by the very next post I received a letter from Lord S. that my agent Mr. Hugonin [1] was dead insolvent and that I shall lose a year and half of my Hampshire rents. Another disagreeable call has taken place at the same time, and you must have patience till my cash account is recruited. It will therefore be proper to postpone some expensive orders such as the Philosophical transactions, the ruins of Palmyra, etc., and Hearne's publications. Adieu, be not discouraged; write soon and copiously and you shall be surprized by a full and speedy answer. I have much to say about the King of Prussia and Anacharsis, but my time and paper are exhausted. I am sincerely Yours,

E. Gibbon.

The Burns Centenary, 1859.

Mr. Ford read an account of a pilgrimage to Boston made in 1859 by Henry Howard Gratz, of Missouri. This paper was found by Mr. William Vincent Byars among the Gratz papers. Though undated it must have been written after 1902. Mr. Gratz read it before a Women's Club of Lexington, Kentucky, some fifteen years ago, and it was printed in the

[1] Francis Hugonin. Gibbon, *Correspondence*, II. 185.

local newspaper. In January, 1919, it was read by Mr. Walter B. Stevens before the Burns Club of St. Louis, and, with his introduction, appeared in *Reedy's Mirror* (St. Louis) for January 31. A copy was received from Mr. Bixby, our corresponding Member, and is now reprinted. Of a Kentucky family Henry Howard Gratz removed to Missouri, where he went into raising hemp and rope making and naturally favored slavery, regarded as so necessary to his interests. He had read some of Emerson, and *Sartor Resartus* of Carlyle and was a firm admirer of both men. His own story of his Burns pilgrimage to Boston follows: [1]

In 1859, I saw that the centennial anniversary of the birth of Robert Burns was to be celebrated by a grand dinner in Boston. I determined to go, and I did.

I did not know anyone in that city, never having been there before. I took a Long Island Sound boat in New York and arrived there to breakfast, the day the dinner was to be given, and went to the hotel where the festival was to be held,[2] and, after registering, asked the clerk for a ticket to the Burns dinner. He told me that they were all sold. I then asked him the name and address of the secretary of the Burns Society, which he wrote out very legibly on a card.

After breakfast I got a carriage and called on Mr. Tweedy,[3] the secretary, at his place of business, and inquired of a neat and very pretty Yankee girl for that gentleman. She said Mr. Tweedy was at his country seat but would be in by nine o'clock.

As it was not long, I asked permission to wait in the store till he came, which was politely granted. Mr. Tweedy was a manufacturer of hair ornaments and I took great interest in the work as it was shown me by the pretty girl. After a short time Mr. Tweedy drove up in his handsome coupé, walked into the store and saluted me most courteously. He was about five feet high and four feet broad, with gold spectacles and high forehead.

When I told him of my mission he told me that all the tickets were sold. Not to be balked, I towered above Mr. Tweedy with

[1] A full account of the dinner will be found in *Celebration of the Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Robert Burns, by the Boston Burns Club*, January 25, 1859. Boston, 1859. The club was merged into the existing Caledonian Club of Boston.

[2] Parker House.

[3] No one of that name was a member of the Burns Club. John C. Moore was secretary, and was a reporter. No firm dealing in hair goods in Boston bore the name Tweedy, nor is the name to be found in the *Directory* for 1859. The nearest approach is James Tweed, dealing in hides, but he was not a member of the club.

"Border Ruffian" beard and towering form, struck an attitude and said threateningly: "Mr. Tweedy, I live upon the sunset side of the father of waters, and have come 1,500 miles to attend this festival, and you must forge me a ticket." "Certainly," said Mr. Tweedy, "Come back to my desk." He filled out the ticket in due form and modestly said the price was six dollars.

I nearly fainted, for six dollars in those days was a considerable sum of money, and as the cost of a dinner, was unheard of in my experience. But those sweet Yankee girls were looking on; so I promptly paid the money and betook myself to my carriage and stuck to it all day, as every square in Boston is a street and every street crooked. Late in the afternoon I went back to the hotel to prepare for dinner. I went into a barber shop and told the barber to cut out the best Boston face he could and to make me look like a Milk Street snob. This he did, and I was a sight to behold. I went down in the parlor where the guests were assembling. Not knowing anybody, I sidled up to a benevolent old gentleman who told me his name was Thayer and that he lived in Boston.[1]

I told him of my purpose in coming to the dinner and I would thank him to point out the celebrities, which he did. When dinner was announced, I took Mr. Thayer's arm and we walked into the dining-room, where some twelve hundred gentlemen were assembling.

We got seats low down at one of the tables and, after waiting an unconscionable time, a Scotch waiter (everything was Scotch) brought us some soup, — very little in the plates.

Remember, I was hungry, and having paid six dollars for the dinner, I did not want to destroy my appetite by taking a lunch; so I said to the waiter: "Bring me a good dinner" — I gave him a quarter — "and I will give you another when we are abundantly served." He danced up and down the tables and, I will venture to say we had the best dinner of anyone at the table.

After eating as much as several men ought to have eaten, I told our amiable waiter that if he would get me a seat up the table near the invited guests, I would give him half a dollar. He said, "certainly," and told me to follow him.

He went up to the table and tapped a gentleman on the shoulder, saying to him, "This is an invited guest." Up jumped the gentleman and offered me his seat. Down I sat, not forgetting to give the waiter the promised half dollar. I was placed opposite Mr. Emerson, the man I especially wanted to see, N. P. Willis and Doctor Oliver Wendell Holmes. It is needless to say I enjoyed the speeches, poems,

[1] Gideon F. Thayer, president of the Prescott Fire and Marine Insurance Company, was a member of the club.

etc., amazingly. During a lull in the programme I spoke across the table to Mr. Emerson and asked the pleasure of pledging him in a glass of wine to the health of Mr. Thomas Carlyle, to which he responded promptly, "With pleasure. I will drink to the health of the greatest Scotchman of the century!" and we emptied our glasses of champagne to his hero and mine.

During the dinner, I asked a reporter sitting next to me, if I could get the manuscripts of Mr. Emerson's essay and Doctor Holmes' poem. He said if I would come down to the *Globe* [*Atlas?*] office after they had set them in type, I might have the manuscripts.

About two o'clock in the morning, I got a waiter to guide me to the *Globe* office and climbed up five or six flights of stairs to the composing room. The foreman came forward. I told him the purpose of my visit. He turned around and, speaking in a loud voice, said: "Dr. Holmes, here is a gentleman who wants the manuscript of your poem." He replied, "He can get it when I have corrected this proof." I went up to the table where he was busy with the proof and found a small man reading by a candle — it was before the day of gas and electricity. He asked me how to spell some words and I told him the best I knew. He said, "That is the way it is spelled in the proof but I think it is wrong and I prefer to have it spelled the other way." After he had done with his proof correction, I got the manuscripts and have them yet. I asked Dr. Holmes to sign his autograph to the poem. He took up his pen and wrote the first word and, when he came to Wendell, he stopped and said he was a cousin of that "pestilent abolitionist, Wendell Phillips," and spelled his name the same way — and finished the autograph. We went downstairs together, and he asked me where I was stopping, and when we had walked together a square or two, he said he lived in another direction.

I then asked him how I should proceed. He named some streets which were all Greek to me. He saw my perplexity and said he would not deserve to be called a Christian if he abandoned a stranger in the streets of Boston at that time of night and that he would go to my hotel with me and take a carriage home. He refused to let me pay for the carriage and I considered it then and have ever since a real act of charity. It showed that the little man had a big heart in his breast. . . .

I saw in a morning paper that Mr. Emerson was to lecture in Providence the next evening, and I took the afternoon train for that city.

As good luck would have it Mr. Emerson took the same train, and occupied the same seat with me. Seeing the book in my hand, he asked me what it was. I told him the life of Arago.[1] He said he

[1] No biography of Arago has been published in Boston.

had read it. I told him they said at Field's — the bookseller's — that it was only put on sale that day.

He replied, "That may be true, but I live in Concord and we have a public library; by an arrangement with the publishers, we get the first bound copies of the books we order, and it is sometimes a year before they are furnished to the book-stores."

Then we had a long talk which led to Carlyle, and he told me a number of interesting anecdotes about the great man, his wife and his residence in the country. He then said that I could find in his "English Traits" [1] a pleasing account of Carlyle. When I told him I had not read it, he said if I would give him my address he would send it to me. I told him that I could get it at the bookstores and declined his kind offer.

The reason I did this was because I lived in Western Missouri and was a "Border Ruffian," and the name of Gratz was not known to the public except through Gratz Brown, who was a flaming Republican, and I did not want to be identified with his party.

After we reached Providence, Mr. Emerson asked me what hotel I put up at, and I told him I had never been in Providence before and merely came to hear him lecture. He proposed that I should go with him to the City Hotel, to which I agreed. I got my supper and then went to the smoking room, for they would not let you smoke except in a certain room.

While I was sitting with my feet on the table, thinking over my long talk with Emerson, he came in and said that he had been looking for me. He saw I was smoking and said he smoked himself and would I go to his room with him.

We went and had some further pleasant talk. I asked him if there are any gentle, soft-spoken women in New England, as my acquaintance with New England women was limited to one, and she talked loud and was not to my liking at all. He said he was invited to supper after the lecture and if I would go with him, he would guarantee me a cordial reception and that I would see some of the loveliest women, the most scholarly, cultivated men I ever saw. For his experience was that the brightest and most cultivated minds were not known to the public. This I declined, saying that I could not take advantage of our scraped acquaintance to impose on his friends.

The truth was, I was afraid of getting beyond my depth and might show my ignorance and lack of the higher culture they enjoyed. When the lecture committee called I bowed myself out, but not before Mr. Emerson said he wanted to see me when he got back from the supper.

[1] Published in 1856.

I went to the church where the lecture was to be given and could not get a seat.[1] As I had been up nearly all night before, I went out just as Mr. Emerson and his friend drove up.

I told Mr. Emerson my difficulty and he said to one of the gentlemen of the committee that he wanted his "friend" to have a seat. "Certainly," said the gentleman, "follow me." We went into the basement, began to climb a stair and, before I knew it, we were ushered into the pulpit, which was as large as an ordinary room, filled with chairs occupied by gentlemen. Mr. Emerson and his "friend" were invited to take seats on a sofa just behind the pulpit desk, and there was I, who had never faced an audience in my life and have never since to this very hour.

Mr. Emerson leaned over and pointed out a seat below us, and said I could not tell what he meant by sitting behind him. I declined to become more conspicuous and sat bolt upright.

People all over the house were whispering, and I felt sure they were asking who Mr. Emerson's distinguished "friend" was, and, as neither he nor any one in the audience knew me from a side of sole leather, I felt safe. I was a much younger man than I am today, and so began looking up and down the pews for pretty girls, about 4,000 women being present in full view. Some of them were fresh and very pretty, but most of them had spectacles on and were rather passé. What struck me as most novel was the fact that eight out of ten of these women had knitting in their hands and plied the needles unceasingly while Mr. Emerson spoke. I was so bothered that I could not enjoy the lecture, thinking about how to get out of the scrape I was in, for Mr. Emerson's friends would naturally expect to be introduced to his distinguished "friend," who occupied so conspicuous a seat at the lecture; but how could he introduce me when he was totally ignorant of my name or whence I came? It would be as embarrassing to him as to me. I hit upon a plan that worked to a charm. I made up my mind that as soon as Mr. Emerson was through speaking, I would slip down the steps from the pulpit and lose myself in the body of the audience. This I did, and did not see Mr. Emerson again until he returned from the supper, and then explained how I had relieved him and myself from the embarrassing position in which I was placed; at which he laughed heartily.

In speaking of the lecture, I told him that it was so loaded with thought and reference that no one could remember a tithe of what he said. He replied that he did not expect his hearers to remember all that he said, but that a thought or allusion would cling to

[1] The Beneficent Congregational Church, on Broad Street. The lecture was in the course of the Franklin Lyceum, but the subject is not given in the press, nor so much as a mention of the occasion.

memory, here and there, and thus influence character, and make an impression.

He told me that his life was a simple one; he worked on his farm and made a regular hand in the hayfield and that his health was better from the exercise acquired in this way; also that he could study to better advantage by this sort of interruption.

I saw him next morning and we parted like bosom friends of very long acquaintance, and he had no more idea who I was, or where I came from than the man in the moon.

The last shot Mr. Emerson had at me was through my Washington friend, Frank Blair,[1] at whose house I had been staying, and to which I returned.

Before I left for Boston, my friend urged me to put off my trip for a few days and go with him to Boston and he would introduce me to all the prominent men of New England, as he was going there to deliver a Free Soil lecture.[2] I did not want to be mixed up with such a crowd, as I was an intense "Border Ruffian," and declined. After Frank Blair got back from Boston he said to me: "You must be the damned fool that Emerson was telling about meeting there the week before." I neither confessed nor denied, but suspected that I was the man.

A Relic of Edward Winslow.

Mr. Ford called attention to his discovery of an interesting relic of Edward Winslow, of the Plymouth settlement, in a volume of pamphlets in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester. It is a copy of a sermon by John Canne, the divine and printer, for seventeen years a resident of Amsterdam, whither he had gone to be the successor of Henry Ainsworth as pastor of the congregation of English independents there, and to become "the leader of the English Brownists in Amsterdam. In 1649 he appears to have been in England, and among the five books by him issued in that year was *The Snare is broken*, containing a dedication to the Commons assembled in Parliament dated from Bowe, April 21, 1649.[3] The date of neither

[1] Frank P. Blair, Jr.

[2] At Tremont Temple, January 26. The subject of the lecture was "The Destiny of the Races on this Continent," and it was given in the public lecture series of the Mercantile Library Association. In its note on the lecture the *Transcript* said: "The theme of Mr. Blair's lecture — although grand in itself, and of pressing importance to Americans — was not such as to catch the ready and sympathetic appreciation of an audience met to while away an hour in agreeable intellectual exercises."

[3] It may be noted that Jonathan Mayhew took *The Snare broken* for the title of his sermon preached May 23, 1766, on the repeal of the stamp-act.

The Snare is broken.

Wherein is proved by Scripture, Law and Reason, that the NATIONALL COVENANT and OATH was unlawfully given and taken: And whatsoever may be probably pretended or objected for it, is fully answered, and refuted.

HERE ALSO

Is vindicated the PARLIAMENTS later proceedings: Shewing the Grounds and *Principles* of the LONDON MINISTERS to be weak and unsound, and so their Accusations and Charges against the State, false and scandalous.

Moreover something is said Against *Violence in Religion*, and the duty of the Civill Magistrate about *Worship* and *Church-Government*.

By JOHN CANNE.

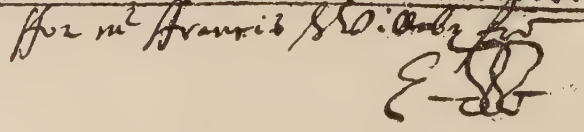
1 Sam. 15. 22, 23.

Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold, to obey is better then sacrifice: and to hearken, then the fat of rammes.

For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornesse is as iniquitie and idolatry.

Published by Authority.

LONDON,
Printed for *M. Simmons* in Alderſgate-ſtreet. 1649.



his birth nor death is known, but he is believed to have died in Amsterdam in 1667. The initials on the title-page of this copy are those of Edward Winslow, who was in England in 1649. Francis Willoughby, to whom the tract was given, was a freeman of Massachusetts Bay, residing in Charlestown; but he appears to have been in England after 1647 and may also have met Winslow there.

Amherst Petition on the Embargo, 1808.[1]

To the President of the United States.

The inhabitants of the Town of Amherst in the County of Hampshire and State of Massachusetts in legal Town Meeting assembled beg leave respectfully to represent their constant and loyal attachment to the Government of the united States highly impressed with the idea of the necessity of Laws and the Support of the same wishing in ordinary cases to avoid all scrutinies into the secrets of their Government, but in all things submitting to the orders acts and decrees which have issued from time to time from high Authority as good and liege Subjects of the united States, and are willing at all times to hazard their lives and fortunes whenever the publick good requires it.

Humbly Shew, That they are at this time in common with their fellow citizens labouring under the weight of a grievous Embargo, and every day and month brings an additional train of Evils that from being one of the most flourishing Countries in the World we are threaten'd with misery desolation and poverty that in our harbours into which the treasures of the East were wafted with every breeze now present a miserable spectacle ships perishing rotting and perforated by the sea worms thousands of our Seamen who were wont to gather their harvest from the Ocean are thrown out of their daily employment many of them have families who are perishing for want of bread multitudes of them are in a state of beggary and many are enlisting on board British and other foreign vessels that the calamity is still spreading farther and the interior has already begun to feel severely the affects of the Embargo that all our surplus produce is now perishing on our hands almost a total stagnation of business and no one of any occupation can boast he does not feel the smart: men of the best property and reputation wholly unable to fulfil their contracts by reason of the fall of their produce: and stagnation of our Currency: and are wrenched from their families to take up their abode in a dark and solitary prison all these and worse calamities are fast approaching upon this once

[1] Gift of John Franklin Jameson. See p. 140, *supra*.

happy Country the multiplicity of lawsuits which have been and are now increasing is a grievous burthen upon the people and an aggravation of their calamity but notwithstanding these misfortunes we would cheerfully submit to them could we see the necessity or that they were promoting the interest of the public weel we have always been instructed to believe that it was true American policy to maintain a strict neutral position relative to the belligerent Powers of Europe and we humbly hope it has been the constant aim and intent of our Government as much as possible to keep out of the vortex which has already swallow'd up Continental Europe we have often been inform'd by our Government in order to alleviate our present Sufferings that this Embargo was put on only to save our property from the Spoilations of the two belligerent Powers in conformity to their blockading decrees but it was the whole intent to maintain friendship with each as far as was possible consistent with American principles our sister State of Vermont being wholly deprived of their trade to Boston and other Atlantick ports, by reason of the Embargo which was laid upon ships turn'd off their surplus produce into the province of Canada in order to alleviate in some measure their sufferings but immediately their was an Embargo upon that kind of traffic there being no danger from that quarter, of any spoilations or any affects that could result from blockading decrees we were very anxious to know the cause neither have we ever had any reason assign'd from Government why this last Embargo was laid and why we were prohibited to trade with the Colony of a nation in amity with us, and this last Embargo and the principles of it, being wholly unexplained upon the other principles of the Government we were involved in darkness and perplexity.

We therefore humbly conceive it as our duty and right to avail ourselves of every opportunity which offers of procuring a relief from so great a calamity.

We therefore pray that the Embargo in whole or in part may be suspended according to the powers vested in the President by the Congress of the United States and if any doubts should exist of the competency of those powers they would humbly request that Congress may be conven'd as early as possible for the purpose of taking this subject into their consideration.

A true Copy the Original

CALVIN MERILL
ELISHA DICKINSON
MOSES HASTINGS
EBENEZER INGRAM
AARON MERRICK
Selectmen of the town of Amherst.

August 30th, 1808.

I hereby certify, that at a legal town-meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Amherst in the county of Hampshire and Commonwealth of Massachusetts holden, in said town, on the thirtieth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eight, by adjournment from the twenty ninth day of the same month, the foregoing Petition reported by a Committee appointed for that purpose, was accepted, and the Selectmen, by a vote requested to sign the same, and forward it to the President of the United States.

SAMUEL F. DICKINSON, Town Clerk of Amherst.

DAVID ROBINSON TO WILLIAM PRESTON.[1]

BOSTON, November 5th, 1761.

DEAR SIR: — We left Philadelphia the 10th ult. as I informed you in my last and had a pleasant Passage down the River. The 12th put out to sea, but the Wind veering round to the Eastward and blowing from that Quarter almost two Weeks rendered the Voyage very tedious and disagreeable. Our Crew were wicked beyond Expression and never gave over damning their Eyes, the Seas, Wind and Weather. The 23rd we got into the Sound between Martin's Vineyard and the Main, where we met with the most terrible Hurricane that has been ever known in these Parts. It came on about Nine o Clock at Night and continued with the utmost Violence till two in the Morning. Between Eleven and Twelve we were cast away upon the Island in Spite of Anchors, Cables and every other Expedient. The Scene was indeed shocking beyond Description. The sea tossd from the Channel roll'd in huge foming Billows to the Shore. Add to this the Cries of Men, Crashing of Cables, unusual Darkness of the Night, and a yet more formidable Incident, viz. our getting foul of Two other Vessels in the Middle of the Gale, and you will have some faint Idea of our dangerous Situation. Yet it pleased Providence that no Lives were lost, as the Ship did not bilge, the Ground where she struck being soft and sandy and within 200 Yards of the Beach.

The 24th went on Board of a Schooner bound for old York. 31st. Put out to sea once more, but the Wind takeing us a Head, it was with no little Difficulty we could weather Nantucket Shoals and were very glad to make this Harbour.

I set out instantly for the Eastward by Land as I don't choose to trust myself again, at this Season, to an unmercifull Element. I doubt I cannot get Home so soon as I imagin'd.

For News I refer you to the inclosed Prints, where you will find a Paragraph concerning Col. MC NUTT, late of Virginia, but soon ex-

[1] From the Preston Papers in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

pected to be Govr. of Nova Scotia; to which I need only add, that his HONOR has got a Yearly Pension settled on him from the Government. It may not be amiss too, to acquaint you that the Colo. last Year, in the Highth of his Gaiety, performed Two other *Exploits* in N. England which I leave you to guess. You may be assured, however, that he has given sufficient Proof of his Manhood in them both.

There has been a strange Shew in Town To-day. The Pope was carried thro' the Streets seated on a Machine with Wheels, and the Devil behind him. His Holiness was in a very antique Dress and had really a Roman Nose. The Devil out of Complisance wore one about Two Inches longer and had a Key in One Hand a Pitchfolk in the other. A vast Concourse of People attended the Procession, which at last ended with Burning the Devil and Pope together. . . .

DAVID ROBINSON.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. MORSE, NORCROSS, RHODES, WENDELL, and BOWDITCH.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1919.

THE Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the first VICE-PRESIDENT, Mr. WARREN, in the absence of the PRESIDENT, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

Mr. Ford, acting as Librarian, called attention to two valuable gifts from Mr. Murdock, a rare broadside on the Boston Massacre, and one on the Concord Fight, and also to a rare colored copy of Lieut. William Page's Plan of the Action at Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, exhibited by Mr. Murdock.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Mr. C. P. Greenough, a badge of the Harrison Club.

From Mr. H. F. Additon, a photograph of the old United States Court House, built for a Masonic Temple in 1832 on the corner of Tremont Street and Temple Place.

From Mr. Ezra Henry Baker, three photogravures, one of Ezra Howes Baker, Sr. (1811–1876), another from a daguerreotype of Mr. Howes, Sr., and Ezra Howes Baker, Jr. (1833–1888), and the third, also from a daguerreotype, of Mr. Baker, Sr., and Esther Hinckley Baker (b. 1833).

From Mr. Norcross, a bronze medal struck in France in honor of Marshal Foch, 1918.

Dr. Storer spoke on a collection of thirteen pieces of "Bryan money," issued in jest during the presidential campaign of 1896, which had recently been acquired by the Society. Also a hitherto undescribed and probably unique token of the "Bungtown" type, struck in 1777.

In presenting an example of a medallion to be struck for the tercentenary of the Landing of the Pilgrims, Mr. DOWSE said:

This Medallion commemorates the 300th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth and was designed and executed at my works, Reed & Barton Corporation, silversmiths at Taunton, Massachusetts. On the subject matter, the design and production, we were engaged for more than a

year. A decision had first to be made upon what historically the obverse and reverse of the Medallion should consist. Then came the making of the drawings and the modelling, which was done by George L. Turner, one of the designers in the Reed & Barton Works, who has been with us for some twelve years and was formerly with the Gorham Company, silversmiths of Providence. From the first conception of the medallion, it became evident that it must take into consideration the sentiment attaching to two localities, Plymouth and Provincetown. The obverse of the medallion shows the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth on December 21, 1620, and the reverse shows the *Mayflower* in Cape Cod Harbor, now Provincetown. You will remember that the *Mayflower* came into Cape Cod Harbor on the 11th of November, old style, the 21st of November, new style, and stayed there until the 25th of December, 1620. The *Mayflower* itself did not arrive at Plymouth until December 26, 1620.

The importance of recognizing Cape Cod Harbor is:

1. The compact was signed there and is dated on its face the 11th of November, 1620, old style, or the 21st of November, 1620, new style.

2. The first governor was chosen here — Governor John Carver.

3. Here was the first white birth in New England, Peregrine White, the son of Susanna White.

4. Here was the first death, that of Edward Thompson, on the 14th of December, 1620.

5. Here the *Mayflower* remained from November 21 to December 25, 1620, new style.

It is interesting to remember that the mother of the first white child born in New England, Susanna White, afterwards married Governor Edward Winslow, and she was the mother of the first governor of Plymouth born in this country, Governor Josiah Winslow, 1673–1680.

The reverse of the medallion shows the *Mayflower* in Cape Cod Harbor and is taken from an original painting by Marshall Johnson presented to the Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants, 1904, by the John A. Lowell Bank-note Company. It shows the landing at Plymouth on the 21st of December, 1620.

As you remember, the *Mayflower* was left in Cape Cod Harbor and a body of eighteen people of the *Mayflower* consisting of ten passengers — Captaine Standish, Maister Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, John Tilley, Edward Tilley, John Howland, Richard Warren, Steeven Hopkins, and Edward Dotte (the last three of London); together with ship's company two master's mates — Master [John] Clarke and Master [Robert] Coppin; two seamen known by name — John Alderton and Thomas English; a master gunner and three saylers, sailed away on the shallop to discover a place of permanent settlement.

The shallop with these people landed at Plymouth on December 21, 1620, and on the obverse of the medallion we have depicted this landing from the shallop. It is unfortunate that of only one of the Pilgrims we have an authentic portrait — Governor Edward Winslow. This hangs in Pilgrim Hall in Plymouth. We have tried to reproduce the features of Edward Winslow in the standing figure of the Pilgrim just as he is stepping on Plymouth Rock. The faces and costumes of the others merely follow, as nearly historically as possible, men of that time.

In connection with these two events — the compact and the landing of the Pilgrims — a singular mix-up of dates has persisted through more than two centuries, produced by the change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar. The Dutch had changed to the Gregorian calendar prior to 1600, but the English did not change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar until September 1, 1752.[1] The Pilgrims, being subjects of King James of England, used the old style. Hence the compact is dated November 11, 1620. But as no special celebration of the landing of the Pilgrims seems to have taken place until after September 1, 1752, no dates seem to have crept into histories or encyclopedias until somewhat after that time. When the English corrected their calendar, the statement was made and spread over the world that to reduce the old style to the new style eleven days should be used in all cases. Thus it came about that eleven days were added to December 11, 1620, making the date December 22, 1620. The magic number "eleven" was given out, and people came to use

[1] Russia still retains the Julian calendar.

it irrespective of the century in which the event occurred. Of course as the Pilgrims landed in the seventeenth century, only ten days should be added to reduce the old style to the new. In other words, the correct date of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth is December 21, 1620. The wrong date, December 22, 1620, has come down through all the text books and histories until the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth took up the question some fifty years ago, and, voting unanimously, adopted the right date of December 21, 1620.[1]

Another interesting error in dates has spread over the country since the signing of the Armistice in the present war. The signing of the Armistice was November 11, 1918. The newspapers stated that it was a singular coincidence that the date of the signing of the Armistice was precisely 298 years after that of the signing of the compact, which was on November 11, 1620. The real truth is, of course, that there is no coincidence, because the compact was signed November 11, 1620, old style, and the Armistice was signed November 11, 1918, new style, making the period ten days short of 298 years.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Charles Harding Firth accepting his election as an Honorary Member of the Society; one from Charles Francis Adams accepting his election as a Resident Member, and one from George Russell Agassiz accepting his election as a Corresponding Member.

The Editor reported the following accessions of MSS.:

From Mrs. Francis Tiffany Bowles (Adele H. Savage), a large collection of commercial books and correspondence of the house of Savage and Company, Savage and Son and Savage and Lewis, of Louisville, Kentucky, in the early part of the nineteenth century. Charles and William H. Savage were the principals, and they were of Massachusetts.[2] The letters are of the usual commercial nature, but they possess a peculiar value because of the light thrown upon trade conditions in the west of that day, the river steamboats, price current, trade circulars, exchanges with the east and general economy of the region. As a record of banking, prices,

[1] Even the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed., XVII. 934) gives December 22 as "Forefathers' Day."

[2] Chief Justice Shaw married in 1827 as a second wife Hope, daughter of Dr. Samuel Savage of Barnstable, who was son of Samuel Phillips Savage of Boston.

credits and methods of sale and transportation, they are of high interest.

From Mrs. Robert S. Russell, twelve notebooks by Thomas G. Cary, Jr., supplementing and continuing the early history of California after 1849, with related material; some letters of Samuel Cary, Jr., and Sarah Cary to Mrs. Samuel Alleyne Otis, 1784–1786; the journal of Ann M. Cary of a journey to Canada, 1819; letters of Samuel Cary from Spain and Martinique, 1799; eighteen letters from Mercy (Mrs. James) Warren to Sarah Cary, 1798–1814; and letters from Louis Agassiz, Longfellow, Thackeray, Macready, Sumner, Prescott, Joshua Bates, Robert C. Winthrop, and others, to Thomas G. Cary.

From Mrs. Charles H. Joy, indents issued in 1786 by the State of North Carolina to its soldiers for their pay for service during the War of Independence.

From Mr. Sewall C. Brackett papers relating to Thomas English and the ship *Tom*, 1787–1888. They concern largely a case under the French Spoliation Claims, but contain much historical matter.

From Mrs. Lydian Emerson Bridge, a number of letters and documents relating to the discovery and use of ether, from the papers of her father, Dr. Charles Thomas Jackson, in continuation of her gift recorded in *Proceedings*, XLVIII. 319.

From Dr. Frederick Cheever Shattuck three account books of his father, Dr. George Cheyne Shattuck, 1819–1852, giving the charges for medical service by a prominent practitioner of that time.

Robert Gould Shaw, of Wellesley, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Max Farrand, of New Haven, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The Society then proceeded with the business of the Annual Meeting, and

Mr. MINOT read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

In the last twelve months death has removed two resident members, three corresponding, and one honorary. The passing of Dr. Green takes from the first place on the roll of membership a name long associated with the Society in many degrees of service; that of Andrew D. White reduced the number of honorary members to seven. Prof. Charles H. Firth has been transferred to the roll of honorary members.

The gifts and deposits have been notable. First in value must be named the library of Henry Adams, rich in historical material and fine editions. The contribution from the library of James F. Hunnewell is also valuable, giving to the Society many much needed works of reference. The gift or deposit of such collections of MSS. as the Shattuck, Atkinson, Warren and Preble, so valuable for their immediate reference to Massachusetts, enriches our manuscript stores, while the steady stream of smaller acquisitions proves a growing appreciation of the opportunities offered by the Society for receiving and making useful papers of an historical character. The files of newspapers before 1800 have been materially strengthened by the transfer of eighty volumes, from the James Bowdoin library, by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

This transfer only emphasizes a tendency among libraries to specialize, to concentrate upon certain forms of collecting which shall do away with the costly duplication that must otherwise occur. The John Carter Brown Library is by its foundation devoted to early Americana; the American Antiquarian Society concentrates on newspapers, early American imprints and bibliography; the public libraries must give greater attention each year to the immediate demands of their constituents; and each profession has its own library formed for its own needs. This is only fitting and enables better collections to be made by preventing wasteful buying; but it also imposes certain reasonable restrictions upon a library like that of this Society. In the past our shelves have been filled by gifts and they will continue to be so filled in the future. Purchases out of its modest book-funds must be directed to fill gaps in series, to obtain works of reference, and to secure true bargains that are offered. General collecting is outside of our function and means, and it is good policy to recognize limitations imposed by conditions beyond our control. In two directions specialization is being accepted — in publication and in accumulating what no other library in the vicinity is purposely obtaining.

In publication the usual volume of *Proceedings*, volume fifty-one, was distributed in October, and a new edition of the Short Account, with By-laws and Membership since 1791, in November. Many errors in the older issues of the membership

list have been corrected, making the new edition more authoritative though not final. A volume of papers wholly of Massachusetts interest — the Jasper Mauduit papers — being the seventy-fourth volume of *Collections*, was published through the generosity of Mr. Charles G. Washburn. War conditions made other proposed publications inexpedient, but they are only postponed until the situation has become more normal. Two volumes of *Collections* are ready for the press — the Warren-Adams Letters, Vol. II, and the Phips Treasure Search — and may appear in the coming year.

In this connection should be noticed a gift from Mr. W. B. H. Dowse, which enables the Society to undertake the publication of State records which are not now accessible to the student anywhere in New England and which contain a large and important mass of material on local history and genealogy, on the provincial history of Massachusetts and New England, and on the development of political liberty in the United States — for Massachusetts was ever a leader towards union and independence of foreign control. The Dowse gift will be first applied to reprinting the Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts from 1715, and the first volume, containing the Journals of three houses, 1715–1718, will be distributed in the autumn. It is sufficient merely to announce this undertaking to make its wide bearing on historical investigations felt. The Society is privileged in being selected to carry into effect the large views of the donor.

A word should also be given to another publication by which the Society, through its President, has greatly benefited — the *Education of Henry Adams*. For a second time it has been made the beneficiary in reputation and in profit by members of the Adams family. Through the two autobiographies — of Charles Francis Adams and of Henry Adams — the Society has attained a reputation which no other of its issues has brought to it. Both works have taken a high place in American historical literature.

Closely related to this question of publication is a new activity of the Society. The collection of coins and medals in the Society is one of the large and important collections in the country, and under the active supervision of Dr. Storer, its curator, it is increasing on certain well-defined lines. Here-

tofore no effort has been made to give to the collector and to the public specific knowledge of what the Society possesses. The time has come when a step in that direction may properly be taken. It is proposed to prepare and to publish lists of what is to be found here; but such lists will not be a mere catalogue of what is in the cabinet of the Society. They will have distinct historical purpose, serving to gather what can be known on historical coins and medals, and also serving to invite the gift of what is needed to complete our already notable collection. The first of these issues will be made during the coming year. Here again, the Society takes over a field not occupied by any other organization in Massachusetts or in New England.

As to special collections: It is only within a few years that collectors have given attention to the broadside or leaflet, which was and still is the official form of a proclamation by government or of regulations intended for public display on bill or bulletin board. Coming into use before the news-letter or "coranto" and continuing in use to the present day for legitimate or illegitimate purpose, for royal announcements or for libellous or indecent ballads, they constitute a great body of historical material which has as yet been little studied. In this country they date almost from the settlement, for the lottery sheets on Virginia and the freeman's oath of Massachusetts were broadsides, and the mourning verses which were pinned to the pall and distributed among friends, of which one of the oldest known American examples I hold in my possession, would by themselves form a large and characteristic though hardly cheerful body of reading. The Society wishes to obtain photostats of all known New England broadsides, and of such foreign, chiefly English, broadsides as are connected with colonial history. The results for the last year may be thus summarized: From the Society of Antiquaries of London, 73 pieces, the earliest dated 1504; from the Chetham Library, Manchester, 30; from the New York Public Library, 55; from the Library Company of Philadelphia, 70; from the New York Historical Society, 103; from the Library of Congress, 178; from the Pennsylvania Historical Society, 217, and from Harvard College Library 130 — a total of 853 pieces, of which more than 600 are of American origin. Such

a policy, steadily pursued, cannot but bring here a large and effective assortment of these issues, which printed, as a rule, in small editions, have survived the chances of time in almost unique examples. The thanks of the Society are given to the Libraries and Societies which have so courteously yielded to its request for permission to photograph their possessions.

In this connection may be mentioned a plan of the Society and Harvard College Library to issue a series of English broadsides, proclamations and political essays and verses, to illustrate English history before 1776, intended for class or seminar study and for general libraries on history. The College Library has contributed the notable collection of civil war broadsides from 1641 on, given by the late Frederick Lewis Gay, and other collections, public and private, will be drawn upon to complement that collection. The Society obtained from the Huth library a collection of Scotch broadsides, 148 in number, of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of which no other copies can be traced in this country. A second volume of English broadsides was sunk by the indiscriminating German submarine.

The Society's photostat has been fully occupied in the year. Of the *Boston News-Letter*, as reproduced by the Society, there were sent out the issues from 1730 to 1736 inclusive, thus completing 32 years of the newspaper — an achievement even when expressed in this simple form. The full file of the *Domestick Intelligence, or News both from City and Country*, 1679–1681, in 107 numbers, was also reproduced from a copy in the British Museum. The editor and publisher, Benjamin Harris, came later to Boston and set up as a bookseller, and his name is best known as the publisher of the New England Primer in its first form. For Mr. Bowditch were made three volumes in his Central American language series — Maldonado's *Arte de la Lengua Szinca*, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Szinca*, 1770, and *Xiu Chronicles*, 1608–1815; and for Miss Mary Perkins Quincy, a MS. Commonplace Book of Edmund Quincy, 1737–1776, rich in historical treatment and reference. Among the many aids to other undertakings may be named the series of illuminated drawings in early books of devotion and a large gathering of American folk songs, both made for Harvard College. The estimate to be placed upon such service can

hardly be measured; for by no other process could it be performed at so small a cost. It is in no boasting spirit that we speak of the excellence of product, which has been generally admitted, but in due recognition of the expert knowledge, technical ability and professional enthusiasm of the operator of the photostat — Mr. Pearman.

In closing this review of the operations of the Society in a year which must ever stand out in the history of the world as marking the overthrow of German aggression, in a year made difficult by four years of disruption throughout the world, it is a matter of congratulation that the Society has been able to perform its usual functions and show a net gain in position. Never advertising either its possessions or publications, it has sought to maintain high standards, to establish an honorable and distinguished record in its own performance, in the encouragement of historical studies, and in a recognition of its duties to the public. One final suggestion is pertinent, larger funds to carry on the work and to permit the expansion which every living organization finds essential to its well-being. The Society looks with confidence for these from its members.

Report of the Treasurer.

In presenting his annual statement Mr. Lord said:

I desire to make a brief statement of the financial condition of the Society, supplementing what is set forth in detail in the Treasurer's report.

The property of the Society may be divided conveniently as follows:

1. The Land and Buildings, which stand on the books at $97,990.32 and are valued by the City Assessors at $196.000.

2. The Library and Collections which have never been appraised.

3. The investments of the Society, which are carried on the books, as appears in the Investment Account, Exhibit I of the Treasurer's Report, at $512,900.97. Of this sum the two centenary funds amount to $80,246.75, of which amount $73,857.60 is the principal of the Sibley Centenary Fund and $6,389.15 the Anonymous Fund. Under the terms of the bequests the income of these funds must be added to the prin-

cipal until the expiration of one hundred years from their receipt, in the case of the Sibley Centenary Fund, the year 2002, and in the case of the Anonymous Fund the year 1991.

The income of the Society from its investments the past year was $30,210.72. From this income must be deducted the income of the two centenary funds, which under the terms of the gifts are to be added annually to the principal, amounting to $3,821.26, and leaving a balance of income from investments available for the purposes of the Society under the terms of gift of $26,389.46. The miscellaneous receipts from all sources was $5,150.99, making the total receipts $31,540.45. The total expenditures were $28,089.58, as appears in the Cash Account and in Exhibit V, leaving a balance of income over expenditures of $3,450.87, for the year.

The increase in invested funds the past year is $15,066.67, as shown in detail in Exhibit I.

The interesting and valuable gift of Mr. Dowse and the devise under the will of Mrs. Charles Card Smith have been referred to in earlier meetings.

REPORT

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, Chapter VII, Article 2, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1919.

The special funds now held by the Treasurer are thirty in number. A list of these funds, with the income and expenditure of each fund in the past year, appears in Exhibit V in this report. An account of twenty-nine of these funds, giving a brief history of each fund, will be found in the Treasurer's Report for the year ending March 31, 1910 (*Proceedings*, XLIII. 529); the thirtieth is described in the Treasurer's Report for the year ending March 31, 1911 (*Proceedings*, XLIV. 568). On the bequest of Mrs. Charles Card Smith the sum of $3000 has been received, and is temporarily included in the "General Fund." The securities held by the Treasurer as investments on account of the above-mentioned funds are as follows:

INVESTMENTS.

SCHEDULE OF BONDS.

Rio Grande Western R. R. Co.	4%	1939		$5,000.00
Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co.	4%	1959		3,000.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.	4%	1995		14,500.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.	4%	1995	"adjustment"	9,000.00
Chicago Jct. & Union Stock Yards	5%	1940		10,000.00
Oregon Short Line R. R. Co.	5%	1946		10,000.00
Oregon Short Line R. R. Co.	4%	1929		10,000.00
Boston & Maine R. R. Co.	4½%	1944		6,000.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	4%	1929		10,000.00
Northern Pacific & Gt. Northern R. R.	4%	1921	"joint"	50,000.00
Long Island R. R. Co.	4%	1949		6,000.00
New York Central & Hudson River R. R.	4%	1934		15,000.00
Bangor & Aroostook R. R. Co.	4%	1951		10,000.00
Fitchburg R. R. Co.	4%	1927		9,000.00
Kansas City, Clinton & Springfield R. R.	5%	1925		3,000.00
Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill St. R. R.	5%	1923		2,000.00
Washington Water Power Co.	5%	1939		10,000.00
United Electric Securities Co.	5%	([1])		25,000.00
Blackstone Valley Gas & Elec. Co.	5%	1939		10,000.00
Western Tel. & Tel. Co.	5%	1932		5,000.00
Seattle Electric Co.	5%	1929		5,000.00
Detroit Edison Co.	5%	1933		5,000.00
Boston Elevated Railway	5%	1942		8,000.00
New England Tel. & Tel. Co.	5%	1932		10,000.00
Connecticut Power Co.	5%	1963		10,000.00
Boston & Albany R. R. Co.	5%	1938		10,000.00
Cleveland Short Line R. R. Co.	4½%	1961		10,000.00
Arlington Gas Light Co.	5%	1927		10,000.00
United Elec. Lt. & Power Co.	4½%	1929		10,000.00
Wilmington City Electric Co.	5%	1951		5,000.00
Old Colony Gas Co.	5%	1931		5,000.00
Dedham Water Co.	5%	1935		5,000.00
Railway & Light Securities Co.	5%	1946		5,000.00
Plymouth Electric Light Co.	5%	1925		4,000.00
New Bedford Gas & Edison Light Co.	6%	1922		5,000.00
U. S. Steel Corporation	5%	1963		5,000.00
United States Liberty Loan, Second	4¼%		"converted"	10,000.00
Pere Marquette R. R.	5%	1956		15,000.00
Pere Marquette R. R.	4%	1956		2,000.00
United Zinc & Chemical Co. (with 60 shares pfd., and 60 common)	5%	1928		30,000.00
United States Liberty Loan, Third	4¼%			5,000.00
United States Liberty Loan, Fourth	4¼%			10,000.00
			Par value	$406,500.00

[1] 1936, 1939, 1940 and 1942.

Schedule of Stocks.

50	Merchants National Bank, Boston	$5,000.00
50	National Union Bank, Boston	5,000.00
50	Second National Bank, Boston	5,000.00
50	National Shawmut Bank, Boston	5,000.00
35	Boston & Albany R. R. Co.	3,500.00
25	Old Colony R. R. Co.	2,500.00
25	Fitchburg R. R. Co. Pfd.	2,500.00
150	Chicago Jct. Rys. & Union Stock Yards Co. Pfd.	15,000.00
75	American Smelting & Refining Co. Pfd.	7,500.00
158	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co. Pfd.	15,800.00
302	Kansas City Stock Yards Co. Pfd.	30,200.00
10	Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co.	1,000.00
6	Boston Real Estate Trust	6,000.00
5	State Street Exchange	500.00
150	Pacific Mills	15,000.00
52	Puget Sound Traction Light and Power Co. Pfd.	5,200.00
5	" " " " " " Common	500.00
50	American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5,000.00
50	American Sugar Refining Co. Pfd.	5,000.00
1298	Shares . . . . . Par value	$135,200.00

Schedule of Savings Bank Books.

M. A. Parker Fund	$1,367.89
Brattle St. Church Model Fund	239.09
	$1,606.98

Recapitulation.

Bonds, par value	$406,500.00
Stocks, par value	135,200.00
Savings Bank Books	1,606.98
	$543,306.98

Balance Sheet, March 31, 1919.

Investment Account,		Funds, Exhibit II	$459,107.18
Exhibit I	$512,900.97	Accumulated Income of	
Cash on hand, Exhibit IV	1,798.32	Funds, Exhibit III	55,592.11
	$514,699.29		$514,699.29

EXHIBIT I.

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Balance, April 1, 1918		$497,834.30
Bought during year:		
$5,000 Liberty Bonds. Third	$5,000.00	
10,000 Liberty Bonds. Fourth	10,000.00	
Accrued Interest M. A. Parker Savings Bank Book	56.30	
" " Brattle St. Church Model Bank Book	10.37	15,066.67
Balance March 31, 1919		$512,900.97

EXHIBIT II.

INCREASE OF FUNDS IN YEAR 1918–1919.

Amount of Funds, April 1, 1918		$452,285.92
Added during year:		
Centenary Funds:		
Anonymous Fund	$304.24	
J. L. Sibley Fund	3,517.02	
General Fund:		
Part Bequest of Mrs. Charles Card Smith	3,000.00	6,821.26
Total of Funds, March 31, 1919		$459,107.18

EXHIBIT III.

ACCUMULATED INCOME OF FUNDS.

Balance Accumulated Income, April 1, 1918	$50,941.24
Income during year, Exhibit IV	36,561.71
	$87,502.95
Expenditures during year, Exhibit IV	28,089.58
	$59,413.37
Less additions to Centenary Funds	3,821.26
Balance, March 31, 1919	$55,592.11

EXHIBIT IV.

Cash Account.

Balance on hand, April 1, 1918			$5,392.86
Receipts during year to March 31, 1919:			
Sales by Library:			
Publications	$928.59		
Photostat	4,087.54		
Royalties, Little, Brown & Co.	7.40		
" Houghton Mifflin & Co., "Adams"	82.43		
Bradford	37.80	$5,143.76	
Rebates		.65	
Sale H. Adams		6.58	
Credited to General Fund Income		5,150.99	
Interest on Bank Balances		121.41	
" " Savings Bank Books		66.67	
Income from Investments		30,022.64	
Gift from W. B. H. Dowse		1,200.00	
Total Income, Exhibit V		$36,561.71	
Credited to Income of Various Funds			$32,740.45
" " Principal of Centenary Funds			3,821.26
Part Bequest of Mrs. Charles Card Smith credited to General Fund Principal			3,000.00
			$44,954.57
Charges during year to March 31, 1918:			
Investment Account: Liberty Loans		$15,000.00	
Savings Bank Interest		66.67	
Total Additions, Exhibit I		$15,066.67	
Income Account:			
Binding	$261.90		
Books, Pamphlets, Newspapers, and Mss.	2,181.71		
Building:			
Cleaning	$376.87		
Engineer	1,155.26		
Fuel	736.99		
Furniture	172.35		
Light	347.28		
Repairs	225.25		
Telephones	117.65		
Water	40.60	3,172.25	
Photostat		4,059.86	
Portraits and Medals		1,510.80	
Postage		80.00	
Carry forward	$11,266.52	$15,066.67	$44,954.57

CASH ACCOUNT — *Continued.*

Brought forward			$15,066.67	$44,954.57
Printing:				
Proceedings, vol. 51	$1,362.06			
" " 52	290.53			
Illustrations and Reprints	214.83			
Henry Adams	872.70			
A Short Account	517.33			
Miscellaneous	193.00	3,450.45		
Salaries:				
Librarian and Assistants	$5,060.00			
Editor and Assistant	6,140.00	11,200.00		
Stationery		379.16		
Treasurer's office:				
Bond	$25.00			
Bookkeeper	1,000.00			
Safety Vault	60.00			
Certified Public Accountant	50.00	1,135.00		
Miscellaneous Expenses		658.45		
Charged Income of Funds, Exhibit V			28,089.58	
Total Payments				43,156.25
Balance on hand, March 31, 1919				$1,798.32

EXHIBIT V.

Income and Expenditures of Funds for the Year Ending March 31, 1919.

	Balance Mar. 31, '18	Income	Expenditures	Balance Mar. 31, '19	Principal of Funds
Amory	$1,977.66	$220.32	$205.00	$1,992.98	$3,000.00
Appleton	5,101.87	896.18	1,140.00	4,858.05	12,203.00
Bigelow	483.30	146.88	39.52	590.66	2,000.00
Billings	3,306.06	734.40	214.83	3,825.63	10,000.00
Brattle St.	128.72	10.37		139.09	100.00
Chamberlain	109.65	90.47	40.60	159.52	1,232.33
Dowse	122.30	734.40	606.62	250.08	10,000.00
Ellis	283.27	2,325.95	1,866.26	742.96	31,666.66
Frothingham	2,730.64	220.32	175.00	2,775.96	3,000.00
General	1,552.48	9,315.89	9,125.81	1,742.56	59,709.16
Hunnewell	2,290.42	367.20		2,657.62	5,000.00
Lawrence	650.20	220.32		870.52	3,000.00
Lowell	420.31	220.32	175.00	465.63	3,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust	6,826.74	734.40	1,510.80	6,050.34	10,000.00
Parker	29.94	56.30	66.83	19.41	1,000.00
Peabody	2,999.68	1,624.71	290.53	4,333.86	22,123.00
Salisbury	201.14	367.20	306.60	261.74	5,000.00
Savage	880.59	440.64	169.27	1,151.96	6,000.00
C. A. L. Sibley	426.54	1,653.06	1,479.40	600.20	22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	3,989.05	8,891.89	7,703.00	5,177.94	121,077.00
Slafter	218.57	73.44	25.75	266.26	1,000.00
Waterston No. 1	1,807.88	367.20	527.77	1,647.31	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	4,354.39	734.40	845.54	4,243.25	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	4,001.00	734.40	516.52	4,218.88	10,000.00
Waterston Library	94.04	284.58	308.93	69.69	3,875.14
R. C. Winthrop	4,336.72	734.40	600.00	4,471.12	10,000.00
T. L. Winthrop	435.23	173.61	150.00	458.84	2,364.66
Wm. Winthrop	1,182.85	367.20		1,550.05	5,000.00
Totals	$50,941.24	$32,740.45	$28,089.58	$55,592.11	$378,860.4
Sibley Centenary		3,517.02			73,857.60
Anonymous Centenary		304.24			6,389.15
Total Income, 1919		$36,561.71			
Total Funds, March 31, 1919					$459,107.18

The income for the year derived from the investments was credited to the several funds in proportion to the amount in which they stand on the Treasurer's books as shown by Exhibit V.

The real estate, which is entirely unencumbered, represents an investment of $97,990.32, and before 1916 has been carried at this sum and balanced by the items,

Building Fund	$72,990.32
Ellis House	25,000.00

The aggregate amount of the permanent funds including unexpended balances represented by securities at par and deposits is $543,306.98, as per schedules of investments.

ARTHUR LORD,
Treasurer.

BOSTON, April 1, 1919.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society as made up to April 1, 1919, have attended to that duty, and report that they find that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report.

They have engaged the services of Mr. Gideon M. Mansfield, Certified Public Accountant, who reports to them that he finds the accounts correctly kept and properly vouched, that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for, and that the trial balance is accurately taken from the ledger.

CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH,
HENRY H. EDES,
Committee.

BOSTON, April 8, 1919.

Report of the Assistant Librarian.

The Assistant Librarian reports that during the last five years there have been added to the Library:

	1915	*1916*	*1917*	*1918*	*1919*
Books	1,502	910	2,565	1,687	6,133
Pamphlets	1,056	1,436	1,296	1,516	1,001
Manuscripts, bound	43	84	155	27	166
Broadsides	178	54	96	181	909
Maps	35	10	25	14	16
	2,814	2,494	4,137	3,425	7,425

In the collection of manuscripts there are estimated to be 1,832 bound volumes.

In the Rebellion collection there are now 3,598 volumes and 6,670 pamphlets.

The Library is estimated to contain 70,445 volumes, 120,975 pamphlets, and 5,626 broadsides. The manuscripts have never been entirely counted, but number some hundreds of thousands.

Julius Herbert Tuttle,
Assistant Librarian.

Report of the Cabinet-Keeper.

The various gifts and additions to the Society's Cabinet have been reported each month and printed in the *Proceedings*. Reference is made to these reports and it seems unnecessary to repeat the lists here.

The new steel case for the numismatic collection has been received and Dr. Malcolm Storer, curator of coins and medals, makes the following report:

The task of housing the collection of coins and medals in the new cases is practically completed. Only a few hundred remain to be placed in their paper containers. A card catalogue had also been made of the 15,000 coins and specimens of paper money. During the year 545 coins and medals have been added to the collection by gift and purchase.

The collection of paper money has been put in order and some

900 new notes added to it. The curator has been much surprised to find how complete the collection of colonial paper money is, the whole collection consisting of no less than 2,350 pieces. He has naturally endeavored to fill in the gaps in Massachusetts colonial notes, and thanks to the interest taken in the collection by Mr. Henry Chapman, a dealer in coins in Philadelphia, who has been very obliging in making exchanges for our duplicates, we now have specimens of 116 of the 160 listed varieties of Massachusetts notes. The curator is especially anxious to obtain specimens of the issues of broken banks, of which the Society has very few.

A number of standard numismatic books have been added to the library for working purposes. We have also added materially to our collection of Confederate bills.

GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS,
Cabinet-Keeper.

APRIL 10, 1919.

Mr. GRAY read the

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY AND CABINET.

APRIL 10, 1919.

Your Committee have visited the building throughout, with the courteous aid of the Society's officers, who more or less make their home there and are familiar with conditions. Some details are noticed which should have attention, unless superseded by a more extensive and radical improvement, as referred to later.

The chief addition to the Library during the past year is the Henry Adams Collection of some 3,200 volumes, which has now been received, though not shelved or catalogued. This work is in progress and should soon be finished.

The coin collection is at last well housed in steel cabinets, safe and convenient. The Curator has also prepared a complete card catalogue of the coins, and a large book for exhibiting the many interesting specimens of paper money — Continental, Confederate, and other.

The Museum or Cabinet is as well arranged as is possible in its present quarters, but those quarters are crowded, dark and dismal — in every way unattractive to visitors — while the Ellis Hall would seem to be an excellent place for the collections. This beautiful room, perhaps one of the finest in

Boston, remains wholly vacant and unused for any purpose. If the collections were put there, there would be space and light enough to display them in agreeable surroundings, and to show many other curiosities which the Society now has hidden in drawers and cupboards, and the existence of which is unknown to most of the members, and of course to the public. Perhaps it might be thought advisable, if the Cabinet could be made a pleasant resort, to open it to the public for more than one day in the week, as at present. The room now occupied by the Cabinet could be filled with greatly needed book-stacks.

Ascending to the next floor your Committee find little to remark. The small circular room at the head of the stairs, now not much in use, would be convenient as a room for the Librarian, who ought to have some sort of privacy. If the room were thus used, most of the present furniture and ornaments which came from a private house should be removed as unsuited either in dignity or convenience for a library, and replaced by others more appropriate. Such use of this room would involve the closing of the large door into the hall, but in practice this is rarely open now.

On the floor above we come to the books, which are indeed a deplorable sight here and elsewhere in the building. There is no shelf room for what the Society has, much less for expansion, and if things are to remain as they are it would seem necessary to add another floor in this high room, as the Committee understand could be done by a mezzanine floor which might be attached with safety to the beams in the ceiling.

This brings us to the conclusion of the whole matter, which is that the Society's building never was properly fitted for its purpose of housing books and manuscripts, and has now become quite inadequate. Under the former Librarian a mass of worthless material was allowed to accumulate without order or use. Much has recently been done, but much remains to do in the way of getting rid of duplicate material. Even this will by no means leave room for the proper shelving and use of acquisitions which are now coming in, and it is hoped will increase in number. The confusion now prevailing is unavoidable; the Assistant Librarian is doing his best, but he cannot create space. The space, however, exists on the adjacent

land already owned by the Society, and the crying need is for the occupation and use of this land, for the erection of a permanent and fully equipped stack in which books could be accommodated, with shelves for individual collections, a coin room, metal cases for manuscripts, and many other features which experience has shown to be desirable. If the money could be raised for building, this would be a permanent solution of the difficulty, would permit the arrangement and disposition of existing rooms on a more convenient plan, and would avoid the necessity of piece-meal changes such as above suggested, which would in themselves be troublesome and expensive, and only a postponement of what must come. Such an addition would also permit an elevator to be installed, which is a long felt want. Your Committee would express their earnest conviction that an addition to the building is a pressing need above all others.

Your Committee regret that they have not been able to profit by the advice of Mr. Matthews, who was joined with them on the Committee but has been detained by other engagements out of town.

RUSSELL GRAY
JOHN W. FARLOW } *Committee.*

Mr. MINOT, for the Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, made a report, upon which a ballot was taken.

The officers are as follows:

President.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

Vice-Presidents.

WINSLOW WARREN.

JAMES FORD RHODES.

Recording Secretary.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

Corresponding Secretary.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Treasurer.

ARTHUR LORD.

Librarian.

JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE.

Cabinet-Keeper.

GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.

Editor.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

Members-at-Large of the Council.

WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT.
EPHRAIM EMERTON.
FREDERICK CHEEVER SHATTUCK.
CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS.
WILLIAM BRADFORD HOMER DOWSE.

Dr. STORER read a paper on

ADMIRAL VERNON MEDALS, 1739–1742.[1]

This paper is based upon the series of medals struck to commemorate the operations in the West Indies during the years 1739–1741 of Vice-Admiral Edward Vernon, namely, the capture of Porto Bello, the fiasco at Cartagena and the contemplated attack upon Havana. The Vernon series is usually and rightly classed among American medals rather than English. The actions took place not far from our coasts, and the colonists were quite as vitally interested in the issues over which they were fought as was the motherland. Temperley, in an interesting account of the "Relations of England with Spanish America," says: "When war broke out in 1739 the New Englanders fitted out ships and spent money to aid the

[1] I have found the naval histories of Campbell, Schomberg, Yonge and Clowes of great help, as also Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*, Charnock's *Biographia navalis*, Smollett, and especially Douglas Ford's *Admiral Vernon and the Navy:* London, 1907, from which I have quoted largely. Finally I have been greatly aided by the personal knowledge of the country of Mr. Francis R. Hart, and his paper, "The Attacks upon the Spanish Main by Admiral Vernon," published in the *Journal of American History*, II.

Old Englanders against the Spaniards, and side by side they shared the triumphs and treasure of Porto Bello and disease and defeat beneath the fever-haunted walls of Cartagena." [1]

While as a matter of fact there were apparently no colonials at Porto Bello, and those at Cartagena did little fighting, as will appear later, still the colonies were vitally concerned with the war.

Another link with American history is the fact that with Vernon's fleet was Lawrence Washington, who named his estate Mount Vernon. In fact his admiration for his commander was so great that it doubtless had much to do with his obtaining in 1746 a midshipman's warrant for his brother George — then a lad of fourteen — and it was only George's unwillingness to run counter to his mother's strenuous objections that turned him from a sea career. Had the "Father of his Country" chosen the sea, and had James Wolfe, of Quebec fame, sailed with Vernon, which only sudden illness prevented him from doing, the effect upon later American history might have been bewildering.

In 1739 Porto Bello was the most important Spanish stronghold on the north side of the Isthmus of Darien, lying some eighteen leagues due north of Panama and half that distance east of Colon. It was important not from its size — it had only some five hundred houses and the customary churches and public buildings — but for its splendid harbor, semicircular and some miles in depth, with good shelter and holding ground. In spite of its small size it was the seat of a great fair, held every year or two and lasting for weeks, to which the Spanish colonists resorted from far and near to lay in their supplies. It is said that "it is impossible for Lima and Panama to be supplied by any other channel than Porto Bello," and that so great is the concourse that "people often make $10,000 by the convenience of their house while the Fair lasts." [2] The harbor was strongly fortified. On the north shore of the entrance of the harbor was the Iron Castle (San Felipe de todo Hierro), with seventy-eight guns and a water battery of twenty-two guns, while some mile and a half deeper in the harbor and on opposite sides were the forts of Santiago de la

[1] *American Historical Association*, Report, 1911, 237.
[2] *New England Weekly Journal*, May 27, 1740.

Gloria (now called Fort Triana) of one hundred and twenty guns, and of San Geronymo (now called San Fernando Castle), also heavily fortified. The town lies in the southeast corner of the bay and does not occupy the whole eastern end of the harbor, as shown in the medals.

Porto Bello was the point of arrival and departure of the galleons bearing the treasures of the New World back to Spain — those sweet morsels so dear to hungry freebooters. It was furthermore the chief rendezvous of the *guarda-costas*, whose arrogant activity was a constant thorn in the flesh of the more or less — generally less, I suspect — honest English and colonial merchantmen. A writer in the *Boston Evening Post*, March 10, 1740, says that the *guarda-costas* used Campeche much more as a base than Porto Bello. Be that as it may, the latter place was evidently a great favorite with them.

The chief objection was to the Spanish exercising the right of search for contraband, the legality of which claim was fiercely combated by England in 1739, although her opposition to the doctrine, except when exercised by herself, was very conveniently forgotten in her relations to the American states, as will be remembered. This right-of-search question is referred to on one of the medals with the legend BRAVE VERNON MADE US FREE: NO SEARCH UPON THE SEAS SHALL BE. The provision in the Treaty of Breda in 1667 — "the freedom of searching merchant ships sailing near the ports and in the seas of the respective countries and of confiscating contraband goods" — was agreed to by England. That provision worked well enough when exercised in European waters, where, incidentally, it was designed to prevent the smuggling of arms into the Barbary states; but as time went on it was found that with the expanding English commerce in American waters no such right of search could be endured by a self-respecting nation, especially when that somewhat questionable right was exercised in a manner as exasperating and humiliating as that employed by the Spaniards, who found therein their only means of combating the threatening supremacy of the British. From 1730 the English, and indeed the American, news-letters contain more and more evidences of the growing irritation. On March 9, 1737, merchants trading from Liverpool to the colonies complain

that the audacious practice of the Spaniards in boarding, detaining, and searching all the British ships that fall in their way in the American Sea, under colour of looking for contraband goods, the frivolous pretences on which they . . . condemn as prizes many of the said ships; the barbarous treatment the British sailors meet with from them . . . these are such discouragements as must render the American trade very precarious. (Quoted by Betts.)

On March 30, 1739, a report of the Committee of the House claims that

it is the undoubted right of the British subjects to sail on any part of the seas of America . . . and that the freedom of Navigation has been greatly interrupted by the Spaniards under pretences altogether groundless and unwarrantable. . . . many unjust seizures and captures have been made, and great depredations committed by the Spaniards, attended with many instances of unheard of Cruelty and Brutality.

The pamphlet *Old England Forever, or Spanish Cruelty Displayed* (London, 1740) gives a lurid account of British wrongs. The West Indian trade was largely in American hands, and undoubtedly much smuggling took place, for the average Yankee skipper of those days did not worry himself overmuch about the legal aspect of getting his cargo into a West Indian port. While possibly the greatest pecuniary loss fell upon the colonies, yet England felt touched in two very tender points — her pride and her pocket. While the Spanish right of search had a certain legal standing, it was, as I have shown, exercised in a manner that made an explosion inevitable, and that explosion came in 1739, hastened by the celebrated case of Robert Jenkins' ear. According to the story, that worthy mariner, captain of the *Rebecca* of Glasgow, appeared before the House of Commons with his nose split, and held before the indignant eyes of the members what was said to be one of his own ears, cut off by the commander of a *guarda-costa* on the pretext that he had caught him with contraband, as was very likely true, though Jenkins said "no." The Spaniard had furthermore bidden him — Jenkins — take his ear to the King of England, adding that his Majesty would be served in like manner should occasion serve. Jenkins tearfully told the House that they had threatened him with death, but that he had recommended his soul to God and his cause to his

country. While it must be confessed that the story of Jenkins does not rest on the best of authority — Lecky says Jenkins lost his ear in the pillory, and in 1761 Harvey asserted in the House that Jenkins "died with both his ears on his head," and Burke speaks of "the fable of Jenkin's ear" — still if the story be not true it is at all events *ben trovato*, and the following from the *Monthly Chronologer* of March 13, 1740, gives it verisimilitude:

> We are assured that among those who surrender'd at Porto Bello to Admiral Vernon there was the very man who some years ago cut off Capt. Jenkins' Ear and otherwise inhumanly us'd him: he was known by some of the Admiral's men, who acquainting him with it, he ordered him to be brought into his Presence, and there in a proper manner unbraid'd him for his Cruelty; then told him that as he had given him his Honour, that the Persons of all who had surrender'd should be safe, he was secure for that Time; but that if ever met with again by him, he must expect that treatment he justly deserv'd.[1]

It needed but some such episode to set fire to tinder already almost at the point of spontaneous combustion. The country went wild with indignation at the sight and piteous tale of the tarry-breeked mariner, and Sir Robert Walpole, much against his will, was forced to abandon his peace-at-any-price policy and listen to the popular clamor.

Perhaps foremost among the War-with-Spain men was Capt. Edward Vernon, born in 1684 and elected member of Parliament for Penryn Borough in Cornwall in 1722, whose voice was always insistent in favor of aggressive measures. He had served with distinction in the Baltic and West Indies and in Parliament had made himself immensely popular with the sailors by his attempts to better their condition. His sobriquet of "Old Grog" he had earned, not, as generally supposed, from his having been the first to dilute with water the fiery spirits habitually served out to the English sailor, the mixture being called "grog," but because in the days when uniform was largely a matter of individual taste among officers he always donned a pair of grogram breeches in heavy weather and had his name long before he watered the spirits. Naturally

[1] His name was Fandino. He was taken by Capt. Thomas Frankland, June 4, 1742, and sent a prisoner to England.

Vernon's detractors maintained that he diluted the spirits for his own pecuniary benefit; but as he was wealthy and his whole life devoted to bettering the condition of his men the probability is that he really thought his crews were better off without raw rum in the tropics. His unceasing criticisms of the supineness and general shortcomings of the unpopular Walpole ministry made him a favorite with the masses. Walpole saw his own unpopularity increasing by leaps and bounds — witness the medal with the Devil leading the premier by a halter into the mouth of the Beast, with the legend MAKE ROOM FOR SIR ROBERT — and when in Parliament Vernon, who regarded Porto Bello as the keystone of Spanish power in the West Indies, offered to take the place "with six ships only," Sir Robert found himself forced to bid him make good his boast, very probably with the secret hope that if given a little rope — and he took care to give him little enough — Vernon would most surely hang himself. This offer of Vernon's is only legendary, and it has been said that the first mention of it occurs on the medals with the inscription: HE TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY. This is, however, incorrect, as I have found in the *Monthly Chronologer*, March 13, 1740, "Admiral Vernon last Parliament told the House, when a Difficulty was made of taking Porto Bello with a small force, that he wou'd engage to take it with six men of war only," which date is of course earlier than any of the medals could have been issued, as the news of the feat had reached London only the day before.

His offer to take the place was apparently the more vainglorious as, in 1726, Admiral Hosier with twenty ships had failed miserably before it — a failure by no means due to his incapacity, but rather to the fact that his fleet was swept by a virulent fever.

Vernon was gazetted Admiral of the Blue on July 9, 1739, and given nine men-of-war [1] to accomplish the feat that in the heat of debate he had promised to perform. He reached Jamaica on October 23, giving on the way some exercise in the art of handling small guns to his men, many of whom, he

[1] Four of these ships were detached for service on the coast of Portugal, so Vernon had only five vessels when he reached Jamaica. There he was joined by Commodore Charles Brown in the *Hampton Court*, thus giving him six in all.

fretfully complained, had never before seen a musket in their lives. However, his crews were probably no worse than the usual product of the press-gang. His orders were "to destroy the Spanish settlements in the West Indies and to distress their shipping by every method whatever." Leaving Jamaica, according to the *Boston Gazette*, March 3, 1740, "he ordered the *Princess Louisa*, and *Strafford* and *Kingston* to go and attack Laguira [Laguayra], but they, holding a council of war for three hours, were obliged to stand the shot of their castle and one of the ships received much damage, having five feet of water in her hold and mainmast shot through, but they at length destroyed their castle and churches." I have found no other reference to this action. Vernon appeared off Porto Bello on November 21 with the *Burford* of seventy guns, flagship, the *Hampton Court* of seventy guns, under Charles Brown, second in command, previously senior officer at Jamaica, the *Norwich* of fifty guns, the *Worcester* of sixty guns, the *Strafford* of sixty guns, the *Princess Louisa* of sixty guns, and the *Sheerness* of twenty guns. It is not quite clear whether the *Sheerness* took part in the action. According to Clowes she did not. She was only a fourth-rate anyway. Thus Vernon had only 370 guns as opposed to what were supposed to be at least 300 pieces of heavy artillery. From the *London Gazette* of March 15, 1740, we learn that the attack was gallantly led by Brown in the *Hampton Court*, who, supported by the *Norwich* and *Worcester*, poured some 400 shot into the Iron Castle. This discountenanced the garrison to such an extent that a sufficient number abandoned their guns to permit Vernon to order away a landing party, the men in default of scaling ladders clambering into the embrasures of the fort by way of one anothers' shoulders, whereupon the fort promptly surrendered after an action lasting only three and a half hours, with a total loss to the English of only seven killed and six wounded. Vernon himself was much in evidence with the *Burford*. In the letter of W. Richardson, an officer on board, published in the *New England Weekly Journal*, May 27, 1740, copied from the *London Magazine* of April 17, we read:

> We made all sail and came before the castle with the Blue flag at the Foretopmast and the Bloody Flag at the Main. The Admiral, whose conduct and courage is hardly to be parallell'd, ordered

our anchor to be dropped within half a Cable's length of the Castle, as being resolved to convince them we were in no way afraid of all they could do.

The *Burford* received several shot, three men standing within a couple of feet of Vernon were killed and three severely wounded. Next morning the Admiral was preparing to attack the Gloria fort when officers appeared with proposals to capitulate, their commander's readiness so to do having apparently been made more insistent by the fact that a round shot had gone through his house the day before. The forts were occupied, their garrisons being allowed to march out with matches lighted with all the honors of war. Two twenty-gun ships were seized, and the Admiral helped himself to fifty-four heavy brass guns and spiked some eighty iron guns according to one account, or 1,210 according to another, and took aboard all the enemy's ammunition and $10,000 he happened to come across, which he promptly distributed to his men. That the booty was not larger occasioned some surprise. Doubtless the fact that certain "massive gold candlesticks" "conveyed" from the cathedral proved to resemble the Kaiser's cup in that they were plated, had something to do with the disappointment. Rumors were rife that Vernon had ransomed the town for a large sum, but I find nothing to substantiate them. The seamen are said to have shared only fifty pieces-of-eight per man. According to the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 29, 1740, they later received 500 pieces-of-eight per man, having captured a rich merchantman, but I cannot confirm this. Vernon also blew up all the enemy's fortifications, not intending to hold the place. He next made a peremptory demand upon the Governor of Panama to release certain servants of the South Sea Company, then in durance, to which demand that worthy made haste to comply, lest worse befall him.

Thus with six ships and 2,000 sailors, and, to quote Lord Chesterfield, "some two hundred tattered soldiers from Jamaica," Vernon took, very possibly much to his own surprise, a position so strongly fortified that government had declared that a large squadron and at least 8,000 men would be necessary to reduce it.

Vernon found a fine snow lying in Porto Bello harbor that was to sail for Spain next day, so placing in command of her

Captain Rentome and renaming her the *Triumph* he despatched her to England with news of the victory. I doubt if any other English naval victory was ever so popular. In the days of the Armada deep religious questions came in, and while thanksgiving was fervent there was little outward or general manifestation of it. At the Hogue in 1692 Russell and Almonde dealt the French a shrewd blow, but that was partly a Dutch affair. Howe, on the glorious first of June, 1794, soundly thrashed Villaret de Joyeuse, but did not thrash him completely. Nelson at Trafalgar won a glorious victory, but he only did what everybody knew he would do could he but once find Villeneuve and Gravina, and, besides, Nelson's death cast a gloom over general rejoicing. Jellicoe and Beatty at the battle of Jutland succeeded in driving the German high seas fleet back to its lair but did not destroy it, and as the Admiralty chose to report their own losses rather than emphasize the German, no popular enthusiasm resulted, even when the true conditions were understood by naval critics. Vernon's exploit, however, coming in so complete and almost theatrical a manner and in the face of the opposition of an unpopular ministry, gave the nation all it needed to become hysterical with excitement, and the medals upon which this paper is based were but one of the manifestations of this enthusiasm. This country, too, was not backward in showing its joy. We read in the *Boston Post Boy*, May, 1741: "So glorious an event, to which even we may boast in some measure to have contributed, inflamed every loyal and honest Heart here with a warmth unfelt before in this Infant Country," and we hear of public dinners of the Governors, etc., with drinkings of healths "at the discharge of cannon."

After refitting at Jamaica on March 24, Vernon captured Fort Chagre at the mouth of the Chagres River, an affair of no great moment or consequence, but which produced a number of medals. He had obtained an accurate chart of the mouth of the river from a notorious pirate named Lowther, who thus purchased immunity for his sins, by the aid of which chart Vernon got in near enough to the fort to batter it about the ears of its commander, Don Juan Carlos Guiterrez de Zavallos, and captured booty to the extent of $350,000. The country then clamored for further successes, and Walpole found him-

self obliged to reinforce Vernon upon an adequate scale, and despatched to his aid a large squadron under Sir Chaloner Ogle, who apparently was competent but, like Vernon, of a somewhat short temper.[1] Vernon found himself now in command of twenty-nine ships of the line and some one hundred and thirty vessels of all descriptions, manned by 15,000 sailors and carrying 12,000 troops, originally commanded by Lord Charles Cathcart. With them were four American battalions, under Colonel Gooch. The northern colonies had responded loyally to England's call, giving letters-of-marque to a large number of vessels, thirty-two being from Massachusetts, which did not accomplish overmuch, and appropriating money freely for troops. Nine of the colonies sent varying numbers of troops. At first they were not regarded as any great addition to the forces. On March 30 Vernon orders that all the American troops "that can be trusted" be put at Wentworth's disposal on shore. Admiral Knowles (quoted by Temperley) says: "As for the American troops, they were many degrees worse, but the officers in particular, who are composed of blacksmiths, taylors, barbers, shoemakers and all the banditti those colonies afford, in so much that the other part of the army hold them in scorn." While this criticism may be due to the superciliousness of a British naval officer towards colonial levies, there is other evidence of their poor repute. Lord Elibank's "Journal of the Carthagena Expedition" (Sparks MSS., vol. v) says "the colonial troops were employed as cutters of wood and drawers of water." Later on, however, apparently they were used and gave a good account of themselves (Hart). They certainly suffered severely enough, chiefly from disease, as only "fifty of the 1,500" returned to Massachusetts.[2]

There was also a body of negroes enlisted at Jamaica, who, by the way, "flung down their burdens and scampered whenever a gun went off." This fleet was by far the largest ever

[1] At least this last may be inferred from a pamphlet published in London in 1743, entitled *The Tryal of Sir Chaloner Ogle, Kt., Rear Admiral of the Blue, before the chief justice of Jamaica for an assault on the Person of Mr. Trelawney, the Governour, committed in his own house, in Spanish Town, on the 22d of July last.* Vernon and Trelawney had had their troubles, and Ogle on reaching the station took his chief's part.

[2] Watkins in *Year Book, Mass. Soc. Col. Wars*, 1899, 63.

assembled in American waters, and should have been abundantly able to wipe out any Spanish force in the West Indies. The expedition was well found in men and material. We read in the *Boston Post-Boy*, January 12, 1741, that, "as soon as the president at Barbadoes had intelligence of the arrival of Sir Chaloner Ogle at Dominica he sent them immediately 500 hogsheads of rum. T'is thought the Lion is rous'd from a deep sleep and broke his chain." And doubtless other stores were in equal abundance. Thus far Vernon had been marvellously successful, but from now on misfortune pursued him. His reinforcements had been delayed in England overlong, and now the rainy and hurricane season was near at hand. Just before Lord Cathcart should have arrived he was seized with fever and died at Dominica, December 24, and in his death the expedition received a blow from which it never recovered. For while, as Carlyle says, "Cathcart was supposed to have some knowledge of his business, his successor, one Wentworth, did not happen to have any." A writer says that it was unfortunate that Mr. Moor, "the one real engineer we had," was killed early in the coming operations. Vernon, however, speaks of Captain Knowles of the *Weymouth*, as "my engineer" in the highest terms throughout, and, indeed, I find in the minute of a Council of War held March 17: "We have all along expressed our sentiments of his [Captain Moor's] Backwardness in carrying on His Majesty's Service, by framing many Pretences for fruitless Delays." With this force, then, Vernon sailed for Cartagena. "On the way the *Defiance* and *Squirrell* captured five vessels with stores for Cartagena, with Don Bloss's son — they heaved their papers over Board to prevent discovery, but putting them into a Stone Jugg, that swim'd, the Man-of-War's boat took them up," learning divers facts of importance.[1] Cartagena, in what is now Colombia, was then the best fortified and one of the largest towns in South America, lying directly south of Jamaica and about 350 miles northeast of Panama. At Cartagena were a number of men-of-war, and it was defended by several forts with 150 guns, manned by 800 regulars. The Commander, Don Blas de Leso, having abundant reason to suspect an attack was coming, had been active in putting the forts in order and

[1] *Boston Gazette*, March 30, 1740.

blocking the channel, and in fact thought himself well able to beat off the English. His preparations were so thorough that he even "covered the streets thick with sand, to prevent the damage which is usually done by bombs falling upon the stones." [1] But on April 1, 1741, the outer forts were quickly silenced by the *Norfolk*, *Russell* and *Shrewsbury*, and after cutting the chain-boom stretched across the mouth of the harbor, Vernon worked his fleet into the bay and apparently had the town at his mercy, but that was as far as the English got. Somewhat prematurely Vernon despatched the *Spence* to England with the Spanish admiral's flag as evidence of another glorious victory; but unfortunately after Wentworth had suffered a bloody repulse from San Lazaro — the inner fort — losing in the attempt some six hundred men, Vernon, finding his forces decimated by disease, had to retire, but not before taking or sinking six men-of-war with four hundred and ten guns, seven galleons and some fifty smaller craft, and destroying six forts of one hundred and ninety-six guns, the total pecuniary loss to Spain running well above five million dollars. The sixty or so medals struck to commemorate this partial success, or according to Vernon's detractors miserable failure, at Cartagena perpetuate a glaring historical inaccuracy in that they depict Vernon receiving the sword of the kneeling Don Blas, whereas as a matter of fact the Spaniard made good his escape in a rowboat, as shown on some of the medals, and was not to be found after the action.

Here again, as at Porto Bello, there was gossip that Vernon was bought off for nine million — what is not stated. According to the *Boston Post-Boy*, July 13, 1741:

> A person reports that after Vernon and Wentworth had dined with the Spanish governor, several chests of money were put aboard the admiral's ship or the *Burford*, and that all the men were given 12 months pay at Jamaica and that money was very plentiful.

This does not appear elsewhere and seems hardly credible, as the Spanish governor must have known perfectly well that Vernon was in no condition to maintain his position, much less attack again.

Undeterred by his ill luck at Cartagena, after a council of

[1] *Boston Evening Post*, March 17, 1741.

war, Vernon determined upon an attack upon Cuba. He had been ordered to attack Havana, but being directed to send sixteen of his ships back to England, a successful attempt at Havana seemed out of the question with his weakened fleet, and so he turned to Santiago. As this stronghold of the privateers could not be attacked from the sea he landed a force under Wentworth, who, like the King of France upon a memorable occasion, "marched up a hill and then down again." In other words, after a skirmish in which Wentworth lost just one man, the general reported "that they could not march any body of their troops further into the country without exposing them to certain ruin," and accordingly, after lying three months in complete inactivity within three days' march of Santiago, he re-embarked his troops, nothing at all having been accomplished beyond the seizure of a few ships by Vernon's fleet. "Our ship, the *Defiance*, (has) been very successful for we have had the fortune to take three large ships and each ship a valuable prize, the three ships and Cargoes will amount to upwards of Fifty Pounds Sterling to each foremast Man." [1]

While the Cuban campaign was an absolute failure from every point of view, the issuers of the Vernon medals were so sure of success that they took time by the forelock and issued a large number of medals in anticipation, giving us thereby another illustration how dangerous a guide to history the science of numismatics may be. One thinks of the beautiful and by no means rare medal Napoleon had prepared in anticipation of the invasion of England in 1804 with the legend FRAPPÉE A LONDRES — a sidelight by the way, on the theory held by some that he never really seriously proposed making the attempt — and of the German medals celebrating the capture of Paris in the present war. The medals of the Cuban campaign have on them a castle over which the word HAVANAH, it having been Vernon's original plan to attack that city.

Shortly after his retreat to Jamaica Vernon returned to England, and that the nation did not hold him responsible for the horrors of Cartagena, and the failure at Santiago was shown by his being promptly elected to Parliament for three boroughs. He preferred to sit for Ipswich Borough. Gov-

[1] Letter from Port Royal in *Boston Gazette*, November 17, 1741.

ernment showed mild disapproval of the bickerings of the commanders by a letter from the Duke of Newcastle to the effect that "His Majesty has commanded me to acquaint you and General Wentworth that he sees with great concern the heats and animosities that have arisen between his officers by sea and land, contrary to his orders, whereby the service cannot but greatly suffer," and advises them to eschew such things in future, but nevertheless commissions Vernon Admiral of the White in April, 1745, and gives Brown his step about the same time. Seven months later Vernon in a huff with the Admiralty asked to be relieved. It was not long, however, before Vernon was officially called upon to explain the publication of his correspondence with the Admiralty and the propriety of two pamphlets entitled respectively *A Specimen of Naked Truth from a British Sailor* and *Some Seasonable Advice from a Common Sailor*, in which he differed profoundly with the Admiralty as to the sacredness of what they regarded as private correspondence. His name was dropped from the list of flag officers April 11, 1746. He died October 30, 1757, and although in his retirement he was somewhat of an "old admiral with a sore head," he was as ever active in his efforts to correct naval abuses. Poor food, the holding back of pay and the abominable activity of the press-gang were his especial objects of attack, and no wonder he was popular with the navy. Though not loved in high quarters, evidences of the esteem in which he was held were frequent, the freedom of various cities, etc., being given to him.

Much ink has been spilled by historians over the Cartagena campaign, their judgments being strongly tinged by political bias. Did a writer admire Walpole he saw no good in Vernon. It is interesting that Tobias Smollett served at Cartagena as surgeon's mate, though not on one of the hospital ships he speaks of, and in *Roderick Random* he has given us a most vivid account of his experiences. The book is full of graphic pictures like this:

> But of all the consequences of victory none were more grateful than plenty of fresh water, after we had languished for five weeks on the allowance of a purser's quart for each man in the Torrid zone where the sun was vertical, and the expence of bodily fluid so great that a gallon of liquor could scarcely supply the waste of

twenty-four hours; especially as our provisions consisted of putrid salt beef, to which the sailors gave the name of Irish horse; salt pork of New England which though neither fish nor flesh savoured of both; bread from the same country, every bisquit of which like a piece of clockwork moved by its own internal impulse, occasioned by the myriad of insects that dwelt within it, and butter served out by the gill, that tasted like train-oil thickened with salt.

While this condition of ship stores was very likely not much worse than what was usual in those days when it was by no means extraordinary for one man in ten of a ship's company to die of the bad food during a cruise, and while one reads of occasional fresh beef and turtles' flesh at Cartagena — it was one of Wentworth's complaints that the admiral would not let his sailors go after turtle often enough — still food conditions were sufficiently bad seriously to hamper Vernon's movements. In addition the climatic and sanitary conditions at Cartagena were appalling. Fever was rife and, to quote Smollett again:

As for the sick and wounded they were sent next day on board the transports and vessels called hospital ships (the *Princess Royal* and *Scarborough*) where they languished in want of every necessary want and comfort. They were destitute of surgeons, cooks, nurses and proper provision: they were pent up between decks on small vessels where they had not room to sit upright; they wallowed in filth; myriads of maggots were hatched in the putrefaction of their sores, which had no other dressing than that of being washed by themselves with their own allowance of brandy (most excellent treatment, by the way, according to modern ideas) and nothing was heard but groans, lamentations and the language of despair, invoking Death to deliver them from their miseries. . . . Around them they beheld the naked bodies of their fellow sufferers floating up and down the harbor affording prey to the carrion crows and sharks . . . and contributing by their stench to the mortality that prevailed. . . . The necessities of the poor people were well known; the remedy was easy and apparent but the discord between the chiefs was inflamed to such a degree of diabolical rancour that the one chose rather to see his men perish than to ask help of the other who disdained to offer his assistance unasked.

The contrast of these floating hells with our modern hospital ships is not without its interest. Apparently happy was the wounded man who was captured by the Spaniards. Vernon demanded that the wounded English be given over to him, but

the Spanish governor refused, assuring Vernon that "they would be as well looked after as if the admiral had them under his own direction," and in fact a letter from a captured officer tells Vernon that the men were well cared for and "lay sweet and clean." [1]

But besides his lively remembrance of his own discomforts and revulsion at the gruesome sights he witnessed, Smollett was unsparing in his comments upon the ineptitude and want of military skill and foresight of the commanding officers, blaming Vernon and Wentworth quite impartially, and some modern historians have taken their tone from Smollett, oblivious of the fact that Smollett was verjuiced by nature — "Smelfungus" was Sterne's most happy epithet for him — and that had Smollett been aware of the extent to which Vernon was hampered by his associate his judgments might have been less caustic. My own feeling is that everything Smollett wrote was so tinged by his own bitterness and smallness of soul that his value as an historian is small except as regards what he actually saw.

Carlyle, in *Frederick the Great*, gives us a wonderful picture of Cartagena, quoting largely from Smollett, whose account, he says, is "that of a highly intelligent eyewitness, credible and intelligent in every particular." His picture of Smollett is graphic:

> A proud, soft-hearted, though somewhat stern visaged, caustic and indignant young gentleman. Apt to be caustic in speech, having sorrows of his own under lock and key, on this and subsequent occasions. Excellent Tobias; he has, little as he hopes it, something considerable by way of mission in this expedition and in the Universe generally. Mission to make Portraiture of English Seamanhood with due grimness, due fidelity; and convey the same to remote generations before it vanish. Courage, my brave young Tobias.

Clowes gives a more favorable view of Wentworth than I seem to have gathered as his due. He says that Vernon's relations with him were from the first "unaccommodating, boisterous and overbearing," and that "as a result Wentworth sometimes stood sullenly aloof regardless of the magnitude of the public interests involved." Yonge, influenced apparently

[1] *Boston Post-Boy*, June 8, 1741.

very much by Smollett, is consistent in belittling Vernon's exploits. Starting with the entirely unwarranted assumption that Vernon was nothing but an overbearing loud-mouthed boaster he explains the ease of the capture of Porto Bello by the fact that the enemy had no warning, that the garrison was of only half strength, and that many of the guns were dismounted and that ammunition was very scarce. All this was to a certain extent true. In the letter of the President of Panama to the King of Spain he shows that he was well aware of the shortcomings at Porto Bello and that on being apprized of the presence of Vernon in the West Indies he was taking active steps to put the forts in order, but that Vernon had appeared before Porto Bello before much could be done. According to him there were only 100 soldiers in the *Gloria* "and some people of dark color." While he naturally minimized the number of the garrison, it is evident that it was small. Nevertheless Vernon knew nothing of these facts when he attacked the place. Yonge further says that Cartagena would have been successful "had not the precipitation, negligence, mismanagement and ill temper of Vernon marred the whole enterprise," and that Vernon "had become so jealous of Wentworth (who, poor man, by the way, never in his life did anything capable of arousing jealousy in a soul) that he refused him the most ordinary assistance and coöperation." Yonge, it seems to me, gives his case away completely when, in speaking of the later Santiago fiasco, he says that "in Wentworth's opinion the miscarriage before Cartagena had been due solely to Vernon's jealousy of the army: he himself now had it certainly in his power to march into Santiago almost without resistance; but he preferred sacrificing his own reputation to taking any steps that might retrieve that of his colleague." One somehow doubts the military value of a man influenced by such considerations. On the other hand, Charnock, a fairly good authority, strongly upholds Vernon. He says "a variety of mistakes are said to have been committed by the general, which the admiral certainly on his part labored with the utmost diligence on every occasion to repair and remedy." In a pamphlet published in London in 1741 entitled *The Conduct of Admiral Vernon examined and Vindicated: By an Officer present at the Expedition to Carthagena*, I find:

Thus upon the most impartial view of the successful part of this unfortunate expedition it must appear that the whole of the Glory and Success was owing to the Sea forces acting under the Command of the Admiral who not only did all that his Command as a Sea Officer obliged him to do, but exerted himself further by facilitating the conquest, which strictly speaking lay wholly at the door of our Land forces.

While this pamphlet may have been inspired or even written by Vernon — he had a great fondness for pamphlets — it nevertheless seems fairly just in its claims. The navy, working alone, certainly did accomplish what it set out to do. All the work of landing the batteries, troops, etc., was done by the fleet, and it is evident that Vernon felt chafed that all this should come upon his shoulders in addition to the work of silencing batteries. In a letter to Wentworth he tartly remarks, "and I apprehend that if your Soldiers had more labour they would be in better health." As to his backwardness in coöperation he claimed that he did all that was possible. To show that he was ready to do everything possible he had the *Galicia*, the captured Spanish flagship, warped in under the guns of Fort San Lazaro on April 8 "as near as the shoal water would permit" (*Letter to the Duke of Newcastle*), whence from a distance too great to do any damage she shelled the fort for a day, but was so battered by its heavier guns that she sank shortly after being withdrawn, or, as one account has it with truly Germanic naïveté, so much red-hot shot was poured into her that "our Admiral thought proper to burn her." When Wentworth, hounded on by Vernon, at last made an attack upon the fort of San Lazaro, and was beaten off with the loss of six hundred men, he claimed that he would have been successful had Vernon only sent his ships in and silenced the fort previous to the attack. According to Vernon he had shown by the *Galicia* that this could not be done. To be sure Smollett says that had Vernon "gone a little farther to the left he might have stationed four or five of his largest ships abreast within pistol-shot of the walls of the fort," and that if this step had been taken the town must have surrendered. Leaving out of consideration the fact that Fort San Lazaro is situated quite a distance inland, a careful study of the excellent chart of Cartagena harbor, prepared by Mr. Francis R.

Hart, based upon his personal soundings and survey, and a due consideration of the prevailing winds, has made it quite plain that while it might be possible to work ships drawing as much as Vernon's into the position Smollett suggests, any such attempt in the face of well-served guns would have been suicidal, with, in addition, the extreme likelihood of some of the ships taking the ground.

A further evidence of the fleet's activity is seen in the fact that for a fortnight after Wentworth's bloody repulse it was busy destroying batteries in various parts of the bay. This work was largely done by Boscawen, who captured Louisburg in 1745, an exploit which in its turn gave rise to a dozen or more medals closely resembling the Vernon series and doubtless by the same "artists."

I gather the picture of a man old enough to know his own mind (he was fifty-seven years of age), as arbitrary as might be expected of an eighteenth-century admiral, testy ("of high snipping, angry and not too magnanimous turn," to quote Carlyle), somewhat intemperate in his criticisms, who thought that the slap-dash methods that had proved successful with him at Porto Bello should be equally so in the hands of others, finding himself bracketed with a man whom he despised and had despised from the very first, who in turn disliked him, a man incompetent, vacillating and very prone to see all the dangers of a suggested course of action. Vernon has no patience with him; he is constantly crying in unofficial letters that he is heartily sick of conjunct expeditions with the army, and in a communication to the home government says that his "daily prayer was for deliverance from a gentleman whose opinions he had long experienced to be more changeable than the moon." He had little sympathy with the general's fears. When Wentworth complained that he could not escalade San Lazaro without scaling ladders, Vernon curtly retorted that if he would lead his men to the walls of the fort they ought to be able to climb in by each others' shoulders, as his own men had done at Porto Bello. Horace Walpole's characterization of Vernon as "a simple, noisy creature" is far from just. His instructions to his officers before the attack on Porto Bello show excellent military knowledge and foresight, and even though the resistance encountered proved very slight the

attack was well planned and well carried out. Subsequent failures seem to me merely to illustrate the dangers of a divided command. Yet in spite of divided command I have a feeling that had Cathcart lived, the expedition would have been a success. Even Smollett allows that Wentworth was "an officer devoid of experience, authority or resolution." In the *Boston Evening Post* of March 10, 1740, I stumbled upon a phrase, hitherto unnoticed as far as I am aware, which may go far to explain the bad relations between the two men. The editor says, "the admiral having performed this service, which we hope has cured him of the gout, etc., etc." If it be true that Vernon was a sufferer from the gout, and if he did have attacks during the West Indian campaign, much may be forgiven him. Contrasted with his many defects of character, every naval writer has laid stress upon Vernon's natural kindliness of heart as shown by the humane manner in which he treated the inhabitants of Porto Bello — a manner noticeably at variance with the customary methods of those days and one that contrasted very favorably with that of the Spanish garrison which got out of hand and did considerable looting for a few hours. The worst offenders were the crews of the *guarda-costas* who "advanced their renown of downright thieves." In fact the Spanish commander at Cartagena, Don Blas de Leso, in a letter to Vernon daring him to attack Cartagena, refers to the magnanimity displayed towards captured Porto Bello, and the President of Panama was simply astonished at Vernon's moderation. In his report to the King of Spain he notes that the English, "even for the providing themselves with meat they made application to the Governour, and having obtained it returned thanks." Vernon's only quarrel was with the King of Spain, and he respected private property and "the merchandize of the Commonwealth hath enjoy'd the same privileges and upwards of 700,000 P[eso]s in value." Vernon "did not use the least violence towards the inhabitants of Porto Bello, but on the contrary published a proclamation that the Familys might return in all security to the City and that the English should be chastis'd that should use any manner of Violence towards them."

The first report of any number of the Vernon medals that I know of is that given by Renesse-Briedbach, who in *Mes*

Loisirs: Amusements numismatiques, Antwerp, 1833, publishes twenty. In 1867 our late member, W. S. Appleton, gives an interesting account of Vernon's operations in the *American Journal of Numismatics*, and describes seventy-five medals. In 1885 Hawkins, Franks and Grueber in *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland* give ninety-two. In 1886 thirty-five are described in the report of the National Museum at Bogata. Rosa in *Medallas del Almirante Vernon*, Buenos Ayres, 1893, reports a number. In 1894 C. W. Betts, *American Colonial History, illustrated by Contemporary Medals*, makes an exhaustive study of them and describes one hundred and sixty-six, and in 1909 Prince Louis of Battenberg (now Lord Milford Haven) gives thirty-eight new ones in an article in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, writing me at that time that he also possesses seventy-three of those described by Betts. A few more have appeared from time to time in sale catalogues and numismatic journals. After collating these descriptions and frequently finding that a variety described as new had previously been described by another author, and comparing the one hundred and nineteen Vernon medals and twenty-five casts in my own collection with the eighty-seven in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the eighteen at Harvard, and the two hundred in the American Numismatic Society, I am able to present three hundred and forty varieties. While Mr. Betts devoted a vast amount of labor to classifying the series, he failed to form a list by which a student can place a given medal without great difficulty, and furthermore the large number of varieties that have come to light since the publication of his book (three hundred and forty as compared with the one hundred and sixty-six he gives) has rendered another list and classification desirable. I have classified them in accordance with what seems to me, at least, a very simple plan. They fall into six main divisions: viz. (1) Vernon in general, (2) Porto Bello, (3) Fort Chagre and Cartagena, (4) Cartagena alone, (5) Havana, (6) Vernon and others, and the arrangement under the subdivisions of these main heads depends upon the first letter of the inscription on the reverse. It is my impression that by using this list a given medal can be located with ease and in most cases with certainty.

The medals may be said to consist of some forty main

types, more or less modified. Of the three hundred and forty varieties two hundred and eighteen have the legend THE BRITISH GLORY REVIVED BY ADMIRAL VERNON: HE TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY. This legend gives the keynote to the whole series, and is the explanation of Vernon's immense popularity. That is just what he did — he revived the British glory after long years of humiliating inaction. For while Porto Bello was of trivial moment considered as a military operation, it was brilliantly carried out and dealt the King of Spain a shrewd blow in his most vital part. With the exception of Byng's destruction of the Spanish fleet under Castanella off Cape Passaro in 1718, there had been no conspicuous naval victory since Sir George Rooke's capture of the Spanish plate fleet in Vigo harbor in 1702. The navy had been sadly neglected under successive ministries that were peace loving to a degree that would have satisfied the most ultra modern pacifist. The navy had not yet outgrown the old tradition of having for fleet commanders in many cases men who had made their reputations on shore, who often knew nothing of seamanship. The country was hungry for a purely naval idol, and Vernon gave it what it wanted, and the enthusiasm lasted. In the London letter in the *Boston Evening Post*, February 2, 1741, we read:

> The extraordinary rejoicing of Wednesday night in honour of Ad. Vernon were almost incredible. This is the more to be admired because of the doubtful rumours that were spread about the Admiral's Birthday (Nov. 12) to damp the intended joy, but so entirely has that worthy gentleman gained the Affection of the People that rather than have miss'd paying the honours intended him they would have celebrated every day in the year to him.

I infer the Vernon medals were struck in Ireland, at least the fact that two of them are signed I. K. DUBLIN gives color to that view. We know nothing of the "artists." Only fifteen are signed. They were issued in immense numbers and used for every conceivable purpose, probably largely as counters or "chips" in card games. Oddly enough they were not generally worn, as they are seldom found with holes for suspension — in fact No. 6 is the only one evidently designed as a badge. They were almost all of brass or copper, occurring only rarely in silver or tin, with an occasional one in lead. As

the dies wore out with great rapidity new ones were constantly needed, and apparently every new one differed in some degree from its predecessor, the differences being in some cases only minute, yet of sufficient definiteness to warrant the claim of there being a distinct die. The legends were all patriotic, the favorite ones being:

ADMIRAL VERNON TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY
THE BRITISH GLORY REVIVD BY ADMIRAL VERNON WHO TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY
ADMIRAL VERNON HATH ONCE MORE REVIVD THE BRITISH GLORY BY THE TAKING OF PORTO BELLO
THE PRIDE OF SPAIN HUMBELD BY ADMIRAL VERNON
THE SPANISH PRIDE PULLD DOWN BY ADMIRAL VERNON
TRUE BRITISH HEROES TOOK CARTHAGENA

You may have noticed among the medals I have shown one of Vernon, Ogle and Wentworth, and on the ground beside them two small lions. These lions have caused heartburnings among numismatists out of all proportion to their size, and various learned and ingenious explanations of their presence have been given. I found the key to the mystery in a note in the London letter in the *Boston Evening Post* of July 20, 1741, where it appears that "on Monday last, the day of rejoicing for the glorious Success at Carthagena, two young lions were whelp'd at the Tower and are named Vernon and Ogle."

ABBREVIATIONS USED.

Am. Jour. Num.	American Journal of Numismatics.
A. N. S.	American Numismatic Society.
Betts	C. W. Betts, American Colonial History illustrated by Contemporary Medals, New York, 1894.
Coll. M. S.	Collection of Malcolm Storer.
Fonrobert	Fonrobert Collection (sold by Weyle of Berlin).
M. H. S.	Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.
M. I.	Hawkins, Franks and Grueber, Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland. London, 1885.

PORTO BELLO

TYPE IA. MISCELLANEOUS. Arranged by first letter of legend on reverse.

1 *Ob.* BRAVE VERNON MADE US FREE
½ length to left.

Rx. NO SEARCH UPON THE SEAS SHAL BE
Ships 1–2–3. 4 left, 2 right. *Ex.* PORTO·BELLO
26 mm. Copper. Lead. Betts 175. M. I. 543/138. Fonrobert. 8275. Coll. MS.

2 *Ob.* As last.
Rx. NO SEARCH UPON THE SEAS SHALL BE
As last. Chapman, 1910, Mar. 25, No. 1305.

Type 1B. 3 *Ob.* ADMIRAL VERNON
Ship to left, stern-to, firing broadside. Below, 17–40.
Rx. PORTO*BELLO
In laurel wreath closed above by town, 2 ships to left attacking harbor in which are 5 vessels. *Ex.* P. E. (an unknown engraver). 38 mm. Pewter. Betts 174. M. I. 136.

4 *Ob.* E·VERNON·VI·AD·OF·TH·BLVE
Bust to left with heavy wig.
Rx. PORTO BELLO NOV 22
6 ships crowded together in line at entrance of harbor. *Ex.* MDCCXXXIX 41 mm. Silver, cast and chased. Betts 173. M. I. 93. Rosa 2.

Type 1C. 5 *Ob.* EDW:VERNON·ESQ·VICE·ADMIRAL·1739·
Bust in armor to right.
Rx. ·SUCCESS·TO·THE·BRITISH·FLEET. Line.
Man of war sailing to right. 33 mm. Brit. Mus. 13.

Type 1D. 6 *Ob.* The Hon^{ble} EDW^{d} VERNON Esq^{r}:VICE ADMIRAL of the BLVE
Bust ¾ left in dress coat and cravatte.
Rx. A fleet with Fame to left above.
37 mm. Copper. Betts 172. M. I. 92. Rosa 1.

7 *Ob.* ADMIRAL·VERNON
Bust ¾ right. Below, crossed flags of St. George over crossed cannon and balls.
Rx. Blank.
26 mm. Copper. Betts 171. M. I. 181. A badge to be worn in the hat or coat.

Type 1E. 8 *Ob.* VERNON·VINDEX·PATRIÆ·MDCCXLI
Bust ¾ left. To left a ship and to right a fort.
Rx. Blank.
50 mm. Cast. Probably by Dassier. Betts 337. M. I. 180. Cast in Coll. MS.

9 *Ob.* VICE ADMIRAL VERNON
½ figure to left.
Rx. Blank.
A button. Schulman, 1904, Sept., No. 285.

TYPE 2. *Ob.* Arms of Great Britain.
Rx. PORTO BELLO TAKEN

10 *Ob.* Arms of G. B. Above, G R On ribbon below, EH-DIEU-ET-MON-DROIT-MON

Rx. PORTO · BELLO · TAKEN · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON · WITH · SIX · MEN · OF · WAR · ONLY · NOV · THE · 22 · ANNO · DOM · 1739 ·
Ships 2–1–3, all r. 4 boats. Heavy line of shore before town. 38 mm. Copper. M. I. 126. M. H. S. Coll. MS.

11 *Ob.* As last.
Rx. As last, but date stamped in.
38 mm. Copper. Betts 273.

12 *Ob.* Arms of G. B. No G R Error in motto corrected.

Rx. PORTO · BELLO · TAKEN · BY ADMIRAL VERNON · WITH SIX MEN OF WAR ONLY NOV · THE · 22 · ANNO · DOM · 1739.
Ships 2–4, all r. Heavy line of shore before town. The same reverse as No. 10. 38 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 272.

13 *Ob.* Arms of G. B. Above, G R On ribbon below EH-DIEU-ET-MON-DROIT-MON

Rx. PORTO · BELLO · TAKEN · BY ADMIRAL · VERNON · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · NOV · 22 · 1739 · Line.
Ships 3–3, diagonally to 1. 2 to r., 4 to 1. One boat outside. Ship in mouth of harbor and 5 small vessels in harbor. Second steeple at 2nd N. N's reversed. *Ex.* ·:⁝ I · W ⁝:· Heavy water lines. Trees at left fort. 37 mm. Brass. Silver. Copper. Betts 270. M. I. 125.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

14 *Ob.* As last.
Rx. As last, but comma after 22.
Design as last, but only one vessel in harbor.
Ex. I. W. 38 mm. Brass. Betts 271.

TYPE 3. IN PORTO BELLO THERES NOT HIS FELLOW

15 *Ob.* IN PORTO · BELLO · THERS · NOT · HIS · FELLOW Line. Stops = trefoils.
Full length to r. on platform. To left a ship pointing r., stern-to. To r. a cannon. Above, ADMIRAL VERNON

Rx. HE TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY. . Line.
Ships 2–1–3, all r. 3 small ships in harbor. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739. 40 mm. Brit. Mus. 6. Very rare. Brass. Coll. MS.

16 *Ob.* IN · PORTO · BELLO · THERS · NOT · HIS · FELLOW Line.
Full length to r. on platform. To left a ship pointing r. To r. a cannon. Above, ADMIRAL VERNON

Rx. TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY Line.
Ships 2–1–3, all r. 2 small boats in harbor. *Ex.* NOV. 22 1739. 40 mm. Brass. Parsons 2103. Two others known.

TYPE 4. PORTO BELLO URBS

17 *Ob.* PORTO : BELLO : URBS : AB : VERNONO : CLASSIS · ANGLICANŒ : PRŒFECTO : NAVIBUS : SEX : OPPUGNATA : 22 : NOV · RIS : 1739 :
Ships 3–3 diagonally to r, all r. Tower and steeple pointing each side of BELLO. Faint outer water lines. 4 small vessels in harbor.

Rx. PORTO · BELLO · URBS · AB : CLASSIS : ANGLICANŒ : PRŒFECTO : NAVIBUS · SEX : OPPUGNATA : 22 : NOVEMBRIS : ANNO DOM : 1739
Ships 3–3 diagonally to r, all r. 4 small vessels in harbor. 37 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 274. M. I. 137.

18 *Ob.* PORTO BELLO : URBS/AB : VERNONO : CLASSIS : ANGLICANO : PRAEFECTO : NAVIBUS : SEX : OPPUGNATA : NOV : DIES 1739
Arms of G. B. Above, G R Motto = EH-DIEU-ET-MON-DROIT-MON

Rx. As obverse.
Am. Jour. Num., Apr. 1901, p. 101.

TYPE 5A. BUST TO LEFT.

Ob. ADMIRAL VERNON TOOK

Rx. WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY

19 *Ob.* ADMIRAL VERNON TOOK PORTO BELLO
Bust to left.

Rx. WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY NOV · 22 1739
Ships entering one by one. 3 Boats. 37 mm. Copper. Betts 178.

20 *Ob.* ADMIRAL · VERNON · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO ·
Bust to left.

Rx. WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · NOV · 22 · 1739
Ships entering one by one, all to r. 3 boats. 37 mm. Copper. Betts 179.

21 *Ob.* ADMIRAL · : · VERNON · : · TOOK · : · PORTO · : · BELLO.
No line. Bust to left. Baton in left hand. Right hand not shown. Hair in queue.

Rx. WITH · : · SIX · : · SHIPS · : · ONLY · : · NOV · : · 22 · : · 1739.
Ships 3–3. The first three to r. Small vessel

KEY

TO THE

VERNON MEDALS

1739–1742

BY

MALCOLM STORER

KEY TO ARRANGEMENT OF VERNON MEDALS.

PORTO BELLO.

TYPE I. MISCELLANEOUS.

A. NO SEARCH UPON THE SEAS SHALL BE

B. PORTO BELLO NOV 22

C. SUCCESS TO THE BRITISH FLEET

D. *Rx.*, Fleet.

E. Reverse blank.

TYPE 2. Arms of Great Britain.

TYPE 3. IN PORTO BELLO THERES NOT HIS FELLOW

TYPE 4. PORTO BELLO URBS

TYPE 5A. BUST TO LEFT.

TYPE 5B. BUST TO RIGHT.

TYPE 6A. HALF LENGTH TO LEFT.
ADMIRAL VERNON TOOK WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY

TYPE 6B. HALF LENGTH TO LEFT.
VICE ADMIRAL VERNON TOOK. Reverse blank.

TYPE 6C. HALF LENGTH TO LEFT.
THE BRITISH GLORY REVIVD HE TOOK PORTO BELLO

TYPE 6C–1. HALF LENGTH TO LEFT.
As last but seven ships.

TYPE 6C–2. HALF LENGTH TO LEFT.
As last but in *Ex.* BY COURAGE

TYPE 6C–3. HALF LENGTH TO LEFT.
THE BRITISH HE TOOK. *Ex.* BY COURAGE

TYPE 6D. HALF LENGTH TO LEFT.
THE BRITISH GLORY THE TOOK

TYPE 6E. HALF LENGTH TO LEFT.
THE BRITISH GLORY REVIVD WHO TOOK. . . .
WITH SIX MEN OF WAR

TYPE 6E–1. HALF LENGTH TO LEFT.

THE BRITISH GLORY WHO TOOK. . . . WITH SIX SHIPS

TYPE 7A. HALF LENGTH TO LEFT.

THE BRITISH GLORY REVIV'D WHO TOOK PORTO BELLO

TYPE 7B. HALF LENGTH THREE-FOURTHS TO RIGHT.

THE BRITISH GLORY REVIV'D WHO TOOK PORTO BELLO

TYPE 8A. FULL LENGTH TO LEFT.

THE BRITISH GLORY HE TOOK

TYPE 8B. FULL LENGTH TO LEFT.

THE BRITISH GLORY TOOK

TYPE 8C. FULL LENGTH TO LEFT.

THE BRITISH GLORY WHO TOOK

TYPE 9A. FULL LENGTH TO RIGHT.

THE BRITISH GLORY HE TOOK

TYPE 9B–1. FULL LENGTH TO RIGHT.
THE BRITISH GLORY WHO TOOK. Ship to left.

TYPE 9B–2. FULL LENGTH TO RIGHT.
As last but seven ships.

TYPE 9B–3. FULL LENGTH TO RIGHT.
THE BRITISH GLORY WHO TOOK. Ship to right.

FORT CHAGRE.

TYPE 10A. HATH ONCE MORE REVIVD BY THE TAKING

TYPE 10B. IN MEMORY OF ADMIRAL VERNON WHO TOOK

TYPE 10C. PORTO BELLO TAKEN WITH SIX SHIPS

TYPE 11A. HALF LENGTH.

THE BRITISH GLORY HE TOOK

TYPE 11B. HALF LENGTH.

VICE ADRL OF THE BLEW PORTO BELLO TAKEN

TYPE 11C. HALF LENGTH.

THE BRITISH GLORY WHO TOOK

TYPE 12. THREE-QUARTERS LENGTH.

THE BRITISH GLORY PORTO BELLO TAKEN

TYPE 13A–1. FULL LENGTH TO LEFT.

THE BRITISH GLORY REVIVD HE TOOK

TYPE 13A–1. ADML VERNON TOOK HE TOOK PORTO BELLO

TYPE 13A–2. THE BRITISH THE TOOK

TYPE 13B. FULL LENGTH TO RIGHT.
THE BRITISH GLORY REVIVD HE TOOK

TYPE 13C. FULL LENGTH TO RIGHT.
THE BRITISH GLORY REVIVD WHO TOOK

CARTHAGENA.

TYPE 14A. ADML VERNON VIEWING HE DESTROYD

TYPE 15. THE PRIDE OF SPAIN HE TOOK CARTHAGENA

TYPE 16. THE PRIDE OF SPAIN HE TOOK PORTO BELLO

TYPE 17. I CAME I SAW NONE MORE READY

TYPE 18. ADMIRAL VERNON THE PRESERVER TOOK CARTHAGENA

TYPE 19. THE SPANISH PRIDE TRUE BRITISH HEROES

TYPE 20. THE PRIDE OF SPAIN VERNON CONQUERED

TYPE 21. THE SPANISH PRIDE WHO TOOK

HAVANA (the Santiago campaign).

TYPE 22A. ED VERNON ESQ HE TOOK PORTO BELLO

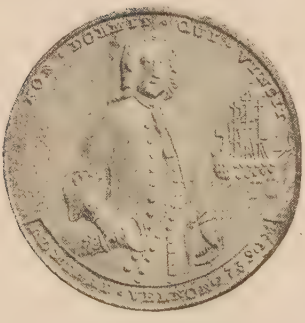
TYPE 22B. ED VERNON ESQ VERNON CONQUERD

TYPE 22C. ED VERNON ESQ WHO TOOK PORTO BELLO

VERNON AND ARGYLE.

TYPE 23A. THE BRAVE ADMIRAL VERNON HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLE

TYPE 23B. NON DORMIT IN HUNC INTUENS



TYPE 23C. VICE ADMIRAL VERNON IN HUNC INTUENS

TYPE 23D. THE GENEROUSE DUKE OF ARGYLE

VERNON AND BROWN.

TYPE 24A. HALF LENGTHS.
ADMIRAL VERNON AND COMMODORE HE TOOK

TYPE 24B. HALF LENGTHS.
OF ADMIRAL VERNON AND PORTO BELLO WAS TAKEN

TYPE 24C. HALF LENGTHS.
ADMIRAL VERNON AND COMMDORE THE TOOK

TYPE 24D. HALF LENGTHS.
ADMIRAL VERNON AND COMMODORE TOOK PORTO BELLO

TYPE 24D–1. HALF LENGTHS.
As last, but in *Ex.* BY COURAGE

TYPE 24E. HALF LENGTHS.
ADMIRAL VERNON AND COMMODORE WHO TOOK

TYPE 24F. HALF LENGTHS.
ADMIRAL VERNON AND COMMODORE WITH SIX SHIPS

TYPE 25. FULL LENGTHS.
ADMIRAL VERNON AND COMMODORE HE TOOK

Type 26. FULL LENGTHS.

THE BRITISH GLORY HE TOOK

Type 27. FULL LENGTHS.

THE PRIDE OF SPAIN PORTO BELLO TAKEN

Type 28. VERNON, BROWN AND ARGYLE.

Type 29. VERNON, BROWN AND WALPOLE.

Type 30. VERNON AND HADDOCK.

VERNON AND OGLE.

Type 31A. THE BRITISH GLORY AD·VERNON GENL OGLE

TYPE 31B. ADMIRAL VERNON AND SIR CHALONER COURAGE BY BRITISH

TYPE 31C. ADM VERNON AND SR CHALONER SPANISH INSOLENCE

TYPE 31D. THE PRIDE OF SPAIN THEY TOOK

TYPE 31E. ADML VERNON AND SR CHALONER TOOK CARTHAGENA

TYPE 31F. ADMIRAL VERNON AND SR CHALONER TRUE BRITISH HEROES

TYPE 32. VERNON OGLE AND WENTWORTH.

TYPE 33. VERNON AND WALPOLE.

and 2 boats. Steeples at PS and NL. Land and water lines. 37 mm. Brass. Betts 180.

22 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last, but steeples at P and N. 37 mm. Brass. Betts 180, var. M. I. 95. M. H. S. Coll. MS.

TYPE 5B. BUST TO RIGHT.

Ob. ADMIRAL VERNON TOOK

Rx. WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY

23 *Ob.* ADMIRAL VERNON TOOK PORTO BELLO
Bust to r. No line.

Rx. WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY NOV 22 1739. No line. Ships in two diagonal lines to r. Upper three to r. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/1.

24 *Ob.* ADMIRAL VERNON TOOK PORTO BELLO
Bust to r.

Rx. WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY NOV·22 1739
Ships one by one. 3 boats. 37 mm. Betts 177. *Am. Jour. Num.*, v. 65/31.

25 *Ob.* ADMIRAL·VERNON·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·
Bust to r. with twisted hair. Signed T[ibbs].

Rx. WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY·NOV·22·1739
Ships 3–3, all r. Lower four follow curve. 37 mm. Brass. Betts 176. M. I. 94. Rosa 3.

26 *Ob.* ADMIRAL·:·VERNON·:·TOOK·:·PORTO·:·BELLO·:·
Bust to r. Signed T[ibbs].

Rx. WITH·:·SIX·:·SHIPS·:·ONLY·:·NOV·:·22·:·1739
Ships 1–1–2–2. 3 to r. Towers at P and N. Water lines. 38 mm. Brass. M. I. 94. Salbach 52. Coll. MS.

27 *Ob.* As last, but no dots after BELLO

Rx. As last.
38 mm. Brass. M. H. S.

TYPE 6A. HALF LENGTH TO LEFT.

Ob. ADMIRAL VERNON TOOK PORTO BELLO

Rx. WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY

28 *Ob.* ADMIRAL VERNON TOOK PORTO BELLO
½ length to l.

Rx. WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY
Ships 2–4. 2 to l. 3 boats. Steeple after X. Land chased. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV. 22, 1739. 37 mm. Brass. Betts 183.

29 *Ob.* ADMIRAL VERNON TOOK PORTO BELLO
½ length to l.

Rx. WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY
Ships one by one. *Ex.* NOV. 22, 1739. 26 mm. Brass. Betts 184. *Am. Jour. Num.*, v. 65/37

and 38. There are at least four dies of this differing minutely.

30 *Ob.* ADMIRAL VERNON TOOK PORTO BELLO
½ length to l.

Rx. WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY NOV 22
Ships one by one. *Ex.* 1739 38 mm. Brass Betts 185.

32 *Ob.* ADMIRAL · VERNON · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO
½ length to l. Line.

Rx. WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY ·
Ships 2–4. 3 to l. 2 boats. *Ex.* NOV · 22, 1739 38 mm. Silver. Copper. Betts 181. M. I. 96.

33 *Ob.* ADMIRAL · VERNON · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO
½ length to l. Line.

Rx. WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · NOV · 22 · 1739 ·
Ships to r. Lower four follow curve of harbor. 26 mm. Brass. Betts 191 (2 varieties).

34 *Ob.* ADMIRAL · VERNON · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO ·
½ length to l. Line.

Rx. WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · 1739
Position of ships not given. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 25 mm. Copper. Betts 195. M. I. 129.

35 *Ob.* ADMIRAL · VERNON · TOOK · PORTO · BELL
½ length to l.

Rx. WITH · : · SIX · : · SHIPS · : · ONLY · NOV · 22 · : · 1739
Salbach 75.

36 *Ob.* ADMIRAL · VERNON · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO ·
½ length to l. Line. Finger at D.

Rx. WITH · : · SIX · : · SHIPS · : · ONLY · : · NOV · 22 · : · 1739
Ships 1–2–3. 5 to l. Steeple at r. of I. 25 mm. Silver. Copper. Betts 192.

37 *Ob.* ADMIRAL · VERNON · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO ·
½ figure to l. Line. Finger at DM

Rx. WITH · : · SIX · : · SHIPS · : · ONLY · : · NOV. 22 · : ·
Ships 1–2–3. 5 to l. No boats. Steeples at P and between S and O. *Ex.* · : · 1739 · : · 25 mm. Copper. Brass. Betts 193. M. I. 128.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

38 *Ob.* As last, but finger at M.

Rx. As last.
25 mm. Brass. M. H. S.

39 *Ob.* ADMIRAL · VERNON · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO
½ length ¾ to l. No line. Finger points to first A.

Rx. WITH · : · SIX · : · SHIPS · : · ONLY · : · NOV · : · 22 · : · 1739
Ships 1–2–3. 1st three diagonally to r. All with 3 masts. 3 boats. Steeples at PS and

NL. Land and water lines. 37 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 186.
M. H. S. Cast in Coll. M. S.

40 *Ob.* ADMIRAL · VERNON · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO ·
½ length to l. Line. Finger at M.
Rx. ·:· WITH ·:· SIX ·:· SHIPS ·:· ONLY ·:· NOV ·:· 22 ·:· 1739 ·:·
Ships 1–2–3. 5 to l. No boats. Steeple at I. Outer water lines. 25 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 194. M. H. S. Coll. MS.

41 *Ob.* ADMIRAL · VERNON · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO
½ length to l. Line. Finger points at D.
Rx. ·:· WITH ·:· SIX ·:· SHIPS ·:· ONLY ·:· NOV ·:· 22 ·:· 1739 ·:·
Ships 1–2–3. 5 to l. Steeple to r. of I. Outer water lines, 26 mm. Brass. Betts 187. Coll. MS.

42 *Ob.* ADMIRAL · VERNON · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO ·
½ figure to l. Finger between D and M.
Rx. WITH ·:· SIX ·:· SHIPS ·:· ONLY ·:· NOV ·:· 22 ·:·
Ships 1–2–3. Lower three are 2 to left and 1 to right. *Ex.* ·:· 1739 ·:· 27 mm. Hess, 1908. May, No. 2239 (Ulex sale). Hess says, probably incorrectly, stops on reverse are crosses.

43 *Ob.* ADMIRAL · VERNON · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO Line.
½ figure to l. Finger at D. Elbow at B.
Rx. ·:· WITH ·:· SIX ·:· SHIPS ·:· ONLY ·:· NOV ·:· 22 ·:·
Ships 1–2–3. 5 to l. No boats. Steeple at PS. *Ex.* 1739. 25 mm. Copper.

44 *Ob.* · ADMIRAL · VARNON · TOOK · PORTO · BELL · Line.
½ figure to l. Finger beyond label. Baton at M. Elbow at O · B.
Rx. WITH ·:· SIX ·:· SHIPS ·:· ONLY ·:· NOV 22 ·:· 1739 ·:· ·:·
Ships 1–2–3. Of lower three two are to r. Towers at H and S. Coarse outer water lines. 25 mm. M. I. 127. Coll. MS.

45 *Ob.* ADMIRAL ·:· VERNON ·:· TOOK ·:· PORTO ·:· BELLO ·:·
½ figure to l. Finger points at DM.
Rx. WITH ·:· SIX ·:· SHIPS ·:· ONLY ·:· Line.
Ships 2–4. 4 to r. *Ex.* NOV * 22 1739. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/2.

46 *Ob.* ADMIRAL ·:· VERNON ·:· TOOK ·:· PORTO ·:· BELLO ·:·
½ figure to l. Line. Finger at DM.
Rx. WITH ·:· SIX ·:· SHIPS ·:· ONLY. Line.
Ships 2–4. 4 to r. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739. Steeple after X and before I. 38 mm. Brass. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/3. Coll. MS.

47 *Ob.* ADMIRAL·:·VERNON·:·TOOK·:·PORTO·:·BELLO Line. ½ figure to l. Finger at DM.

Rx. WITH·:·SIX·:·SHIPS·:·ONLY. Line. Ships 2–1–3. The 3 to right point l. Steeple after X. Tower at HI. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739/T. M 37 mm. Brass. White metal. 2 dies. Brit. Mus. 1. Very rare.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

48 *Ob.* ADMIRAL·:·VERNON·:·TOOK·:·PORTO·:·BELLO·:· Line. ½ figure to l. Finger at DM.

Rx. WITH:·SIX:·SHIPS:·ONLY:· Line. Ships 2–1–3. 5 to l. Tower at H. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739. 34 mm. Brass. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/4. Coll. MS.

49 *Ob.* ADMIRAL·:·VERNON·:·TOOK·:·PORTO·:·BELLO Line. ½ figure to l. Finger at M.

Rx. WITH·:·SIX·:·SHIPS·:·ONLY·:· Line. Ships 2–4. Upper two to r. of lower 4. Two are at l. point to r. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 37 mm. Brit. Mus. 96.

50 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last. 40 mm. Brass. Salbach 53. Coll. MS.

51 *Ob.* ADMIRAL·:·VERNON·:·TOOK·:·PORTO·:·BELLO. Line. ½ figure to l. Finger outside of label.

Rx. WITH:·SIX:·SHIPS:·ONLY:·6ƐƛI. (Figures 1739 reversed.) Ships 2–1–3. 5 to l. *Ex.* NOV 22 25 mm. M. I. 129.

52 *Ob.* ADMIRAL·:·VERNON·:·TOOK·:·PORTO·:·BELLO Line. ½ length to l. Fluke of anchor in front. Baton at I.

Rx. WITH·:·SIX·:·SHIPS·:·ONLY. Line. Ships 2–4 2 to l. 3 boats. Steeple between X and·:·. Land chased. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739 37 mm. Silver. Brass. Copper. Betts 182. M. I. 115. Fonrobert 8286.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

53 *Ob.* ADMIRAL·:·VERNON:··TOOK:··PORTO·:·BELLO·:· Line. ½ length to l. Finger outside of label.

Rx. WITH:·SIX:·SHIPS:·ONLY:·6ƐƛI Ships 2–1–3. 5 to l. *Ex.* NOV 22 25 mm. M. I. 189.

54 *Ob.* As last.
Rx. As last, but steeple points between IP and N. Land and water lines.

55 *Ob.* ADMIRAL·:·VERNON·:·TOOK·:·PORTO·:·BELLO·:· Line.
½ length to l. Finger at DM. Field smooth.
Rx. WITH·:·SIX·:·SHIPS·:·ONLY·:·NOV·:·22·:·1739 Ships 2–1–3. 5 to l. 2 boats. Steeple at PS. Land chased. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 33 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 189.

56 *Ob.* As last, but field chased.
Rx. As last.
33 mm. Brass. Betts 190.

57 *Ob.* ADMIRAL·:·VERNON·:·TOOK·:·PORTO·:·BELLO No line.
½ length ¾ to l. Finger between D and M.
Rx. WITH·:·SIX·:·SHIPS·:·ONLY·:·NOV·:·22·:·1739 Ships 2–4. 4 to r. 2 boats. Steeples between X and·:·and at I in SHIPS. Land chased. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 38 mm. Brass. Betts 188. M. H. S.

TYPE 6B. VICE ADMIRAL VERNON TOOK PORTO BELLO

58 *Ob.* VICE·ADMIRAL·VERNON·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO· WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY· 1739.
¾ figure to l. pointing to ships entering harbor. Ships are 1–2–1–2. 4 to r. 2 boats in harbor. 2 small separate buildings to right of town. Man in boat under left fort. *Ex.* BY·COURAGE· AND/CONDUCT.
Rx. Blank.
63 mm. Hess (Ulex sale), 1908, May, No. 2213. Unique.

TYPE 6C. *Ob.* THE BRITISH GLORY.
Rx. HE TOOK PORTO BELLO. Half length to left.

59 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL· VERNON·scroll. Line.
½ length to l. Finger at IT. Baton at Y.
Rx. HE·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY Line.
Ships 2–4. 5 to r. Steeples at E O I. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739·/ornament. 36 mm. Betts 197. M. I. 113. Brass. Lead. Coll. MS.

60 *Ob.* As last.
Rx. As last, but steeples under LL, W and T. 36 mm. Brass. Coll. MS.

61 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV·D · BY ·ADMIRAL · VERNON·scroll.
½ length to l. Finger at IT.

Rx. HE·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX· SHIPS·ONLY Line.
Ships 2–4. 5 to r. *Ex.* Scroll/NOV·22·1739. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/6.

62 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV·D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON·scroll. Line.
½ length to l. Finger between R and I. Baton at O.

Rx. HE·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY. Line.
Ships 2–4. 5 to r. Steeples at second L, W and H. No lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739. Ornament. 27 mm. Brass. M. H. S. Coll. MS.

63 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last, but tower under 1st L.
27 mm. Brass. M. H. S.

64 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last, but tower under BW.

65 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV·D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON. No line.
½ length to l. Finger at RI.

Rx. HE·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY. No line.
Ships 3–3. 3 to r. Steeple at E. Water lines below. 2 boats. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739 37.5 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 198. Fonrobert 8287. Coll. MS.

66 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last. Ships 1–2–3. 5 to l. 2 boats. Steeples at first L and T. Water lines below lower ships and forts. *Ex.* As last. 36 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 199.

67 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY·ADMIRAL · VERNON No line.
½ length to l. Finger at RI. Elbow at V. Baton in r. hand.

Rx. HE·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY. No line.
Ships 3–3. Upper 3 to l. Steeple at W. Tower at TH. 2 boats. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739 38 mm. Brass. Coll. MS.

68 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON. Line.
½ length to l. Finger at RI.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY. Line.
Ships irregular. 1–1–1–3. 3 to r. 1 vessel. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739. 36 mm. Betts 211. M. I. 107. M. H. S.

69 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON. No line.
½ length to l. Finger at RI. Elbow at R.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY. Line.
Ships 1–2–3. 5 to l. 2 vessels. Steeples at W and T. Lines below lower ships and forts. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 37 mm. Brass.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

70 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON. Line.
½ figure to l. Finger at BR.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY. Line.
Ships 2–4. 5 to r. Towers and steeple at first L, O, W. 2 boats. Water lines outside. *Ex.* NOV · 22 1739 26 mm. Brass. Betts 208.
Coll. MS.

71 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON. Line.
D's reversed. ½ length to l. Finger at BR.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY Line.
Ships 2–1–3. 5 to r. Tower and steeples at E, second L and W. No boats. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739. /ornament. 27 mm. Brass. Betts 208. Coll. MS.

72 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last, but SIX · SHIPS and no ornament in exergue. S's reversed.
Schulman, *Cat.* LXVIII, No. 1066a.

73 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line.
½ length to l. Finger at BR.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY. Line.
Ships 2–4. 5 to r. 2 small boats. Steeples at LL, OW, T. 2 small boats. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 27 mm. Brass. M. I. 130.

74 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON. Line.
½ figure to l. Finger at I.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY.
Line.
Ships 2–4. 5 to r. Towers at B, LO, W. No boats. *Ex.* NOV · 22 1739/ornament. 26 mm.

75 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV * D * BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON *
½ figure to l.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY
All periods inverted.
Ships 1–2–3. 5 to l. One to r. in foreground. 2 small vessels. Tower and steeples at L, W, T. Water lines before first three ships. *Ex.* NOV · 22 1739 23.5 mm. *Am. Jour. Num.*, 1899, Oct., p. 45/2.

76 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739/ · : · I · : · R · : · DV · : ·

77 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line.
½ length to l. Finger at E. Sleeve touches label. Left elbow at E.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY ·

78 *Ob.* · : · THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON. Line.
Finger at HE.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · Line.
Ships 1–2–3. All to r. Large fort in foreground to l. 3 vessels. Towers at LL, O, IT. N's reversed. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739. 37 mm. Salbach 81.

79 *Ob.* THE · : · BRITISH · : · GLORY · : · REVIV · : · D · : · BY · : · ADMIRAL · : · VERNON o
½ length to l. Finger at R.

Rx. HE o TOOK o PORTO o BELLO o WITH o SIX o SHIPS o ONLY o Line.
Ships irregular. *Ex.* NOV o 22 o 1739 *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/10.

80 *Ob.* THE o BRITISH o GLORY o REVIV o D o BY o ADMIRAL o VERNON o.
½ length to l. Finger at R.

Rx. As last.
Num. Chron., 1909, p. 419/11.

81 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last. Line.
Ships 1–2–3. Largest to r. *Ex.* NOV o 22 oo 1739 o *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/12.

82 *Ob.* As last. Finger at RT.
Rx. As last, but ONLY
Ships 3–3. Upper 3 to l. *Ex.* NOV o 22 · 1739. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/13.

83 *Ob.* THE · : · BRITISH · : · GLORY · : · REVIV · D · : · BY · : · ADMIRAL · : · VERNO Line.
½ length to l. Finger at rosette between E and B.
Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · Line.
Ships 1–1–1–3. 3 to r. Tower at T. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 · 37 mm. Brit. Mus. 19.
Cast in Coll. MS.

84 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · AD : VERNON · Line.
½ length to l. Finger at R. To right a ship sailing to r.
Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY. Line.
Ships 2–1–3. All to r. 2 ships in harbor. 8 houses. 34 x 26 mm. Brass, elliptical, made into a key. Betts 218. Brit. Mus. 9.
Cast in Coll. MS.

TYPE 6C–1. *Ob.* THE BRITISH.
Rx. HE TOOK. ½ length to l. Seven ships.

85 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON
½ length to l. Finger at RI.
Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · No line.
Seven ships, 3–3–1. *Ex.* NOV · 22 1739 *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/15.

86 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV * DBY * ADMIRAL · VERNON *
½ length to l.
Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY *
Seven ships 3–3–1. The one at left lower than upper three. 2 small vessels. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 37 mm. Copper. Betts 214. M. I. 108?

TYPE 6C–2. *Ob.* THE BRITISH.
Rx. HE TOOK. *Ex.* BY COURAGE AND CONDUCT.
½ length to l.

88 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line.
½ length to l. Finger to left of THE.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY
Ships irregular. *Ex.* BY · COURAGE · AND/CONDUCT *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/14.
Apparently a fuller description of this is as follows:

Ob. THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line.
½ length to l. Baton at S. Finger to l. of E. Elbow at last N.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · 1739 Line.
Ships 1–1–2–2. 3 to l. 3 small boats. One boat below fort on mole. Tower after O. Steeple at T. Water lines. *Ex.* BY COURAGE · AND/CONDUCT. 36 mm. Brass. Coll. MS.

89 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · 1739 Line.
Ships 1–1–2–2. 4 to l. Upper one stern-to. 3 small vessels. Steeple at H. *Ex.* BY COURAGE · AND/CONDUCT. 37 mm. Brass. Coll. MS.

90 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line.
½ length to l. Finger at E. Left elbow at O.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · 1739 o. Line.
Ships 1–1–2–2. 3 to l. The upper one stern-to. 2 small vessels and one larger one in harbor. One outside. Steeple at H. Tower at W. Water lines. *Ex.* BY · COURAGE · AND/ · CONDUCT · 37 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 200. M. I. 111. (3 minute varieties.) M. H. S. Coll. MS.

91 *Ob.* As last, but N's reversed.

Rx. As last, but N's reversed.
36.5 mm. Salbach 59.

92 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line.
½ length to l. Finger at E. Elbow at last N.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · 1739 ·
Ships 1–1–2–2. 2 to r. 3 small vessels in harbor. Boat outside. Tower at O, steeple at T. Faint land lines. Heavy water lines. *Ex.* BY COURAGE/AND CONDUCT 36 mm.

Brass. Copper. Betts 202. *Am. Jour. Num.*, II. 48/8 and 86/7b.

93 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON
½ length to l.

Rx. HE ✠ TOOK ✠ PORTO ✠ BELLO ✠ WITH ✠ SIX ✠ SHIPS ✠ ONLY *Ex.* BY · COURAGE · AND · CONDUCT 37 mm. Salbach 77.

94 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line.
½ length to l. Finger at E. Elbow at E.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · Line.
Ships 1–1–2–2. 2 to r. One vessel in harbor. Tower at second L. Steeple at I. Outer water lines. *Ex.* BY · COURAGE · AND · /CONDUCT · 36 mm. Copper. Coll. MS.

95 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON · Line.
½ length to l. Finger at I. Elbow at O.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · Line.
Ships 1–1–2–2. 3 to r. One vessel in harbor. Tower under second L. Steeple under I. Outer water lines. *Ex.* BY · COURAGE · AND/CONDUCT · (Probably same reverse as last.) 36 mm. Cast. Coll. MS.

96 *Ob.* THE o BRITISH o GLORY o REVIV o D o BY o ADMIRAL o VERNON Line.
½ length to l. Finger at E.

Rx. As last. *Ex.* BY · COURAGE · AND/CONDUCT

97 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON:· Line.
N's reversed. ½ length to l. Finger at EB. Elbow at last N.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · 1739:· Line.
Ships 1–1–2–2. 4 to l. 4 boats in harbor. One outside. Tree on each side of harbor. Tower and steeple at W and I. Water lines *Ex.* BY · COURAGE · AND/CONDUCT. N's reversed. 37 mm. Copper. Betts 213. Coll. MS.

98 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON: Line.
½ length to l. Finger at EB. Elbow at last period. Baton at G.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · 1739 Line.
N's reversed. Ships 1–1–2–2. 3 to l. 5 small vessels. Tower before W. Steeple before T and at H. Boat before fort on mole. Water lines. *Ex.* BY · COURAGE · AND/CONDUCT · 38 mm. Brass.
M. H. S.

99 *Ob.* THE o BRITISH o GLORY o REVIV o D o BY o ADMIRAL o VERNON o
½ length to l. Finger at E.

Rx. HE o TOOK o PORTO o BELLO o WITH o SIX o SHIPS o ONLY · 1739 Line.
Ships 1–1–2–2. *Ex.* BY COURAGE AND/CONDUCT *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/17. All letter O's too big. Coll. MS.

100 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON
All letter O's too big. ½ length to l.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY
Ships 1–1–2–2. 4 to l. One vessel in harbor. Steeple at I. Outer water lines. *Ex.* BY · COURAGE · AND/CONDUCT. 37 mm. Salbach 63.

101 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line.
½ length to l. Finger at E. Elbow at O.

Rx. HE · : · TOOK · : · PORTO · : · BELLO · : · WITH · : · SIX · : · SHIPS · : · ONLY Line.
Ships 1–1–2–2. 3 to r. One vessel in harbor. Steeple at LL. Tower at IT. Outer water lines. *Ex.* BY · COURAGE · AND/CONDUCT · 37 mm. Brass. Silvered. Betts 201.
M. H. S.

102 *Ob.* THE · : · BRITISH · : · GLORY · : · REVIV · D · : · BY · : · ADMIRAL · : · VERNON o Line.
½ length to l. Finger at R. Elbow at R.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY ·
Ships 1–1–2–2. 4 to l. One vessel in harbor. Steeple at I. Outer water lines. *Ex.* BY · COURAGE · AND/CONDUCT · Betts 212.

103 *Ob.* THE · : · BRITISH · : · GLORY · : · REVIV · D · : · BY · : · ADMIRAL · : · VERNON Line.
½ length to l. Finger at R. Elbow at R.

Rx. HE·:·TOOK·:·PORTO·:·BELLO·:·WITH·:·SIX ·:·SHIPS·:·ONLY·
Ships 1–1–2–2. 3 to r. One vessel in harbor. Steeple at LL. Tower at I. Outer water lines. *Ex.* BY·COURAGE·AND/CONDUCT· 35 mm. Brass. Betts 210.

104 *Ob.* THE o BRITISH o GLORY o REVIV o D o BY o ADMIRAL o VERNO o. Line.
½ length to l. Finger at E. Elbow at E.

Rx. As last.
36 mm. Betts 215. M. I. 110.

105 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY ·
Ships 1–1–2–2. 4 to l. One vessel. Steeple at I. Outer water lines. *Ex.* BY·COURAGE·AND/CONDUCT· 36 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 216.

106 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNO Line.
½ length to l. Finger at E. Elbow at E.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY· Line.
Device as last. Tower at LL. Steeple at I. *Ex.* As last. 36 mm. Brass. Coll. MS.

107 *Ob.* THE o BRITISH o GLORY o REVIV o D o BY o ADMIRAL o VERNO
½ length to l. Finger at E.

Rx. HE·TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY
3 large and 3 small vessels irregularly. *Ex.* BY·COURAGE AND·CONDUCT· *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/10. Coll. MS.

108 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNO Line.
½ length to l. Finger at E. Baton at IS. Elbow at E.

Rx. HE·TOOK·PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY· Line.
Ships 1–1–2–2. 3 to l. One vessel. Tower at LL. Steeple at I. Water lines. *Ex.* BY·COURAGE·AND/CONDUCT· 38 mm. Brass. M. H. S.

109 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNO Line.
½ length to l. Finger at E. Baton at IS. Elbow at E.

Rx. HE · : · TOOK · : · PORTO · : · BELLO · : · WITH · : · SIX · : · SHIPS · : · ONLY · Line.
Ships 1–1–2–2. 3 to l. Steeples at LL, IT. Tower after O. One boat. Water lines. *Ex.* BY · COURAGE · AND/CONDUCT. 35 mm. Brass. M. H. S.

110 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNO (*trace of* N *seen*). Line.
½ length to l. Finger at R. Elbow at O.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · Line.
Ships 1–1–2–2. 3 to l. One small vessel. Tower at LL. Steeple at I. Outer water lines. *Ex.* BY · COURAGE · AND/CONDUCT · 36 mm · Brass. M. H. S. Coll. MS.
In a specimen in the collection of the *Mass. Hist. Soc.* the second N in Vernon is complete.

111 *Ob.* THE · : · BRITISH · : · GLORY · : · REVIV · : · D · : · BY ADMIRAL · : · VERNO. Line.
½ length to l. Finger points between E and R. Elbow at V.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY ·
Ships 1–1–2–2. 4 to l. One vessel. Tower at second L. Steeple at I. Outer water lines. *Ex.* BY · COURAGE · AND/CONDUCT · 36 mm. Brass. Betts 217.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

TYPE 6C–3. *Ob.* THE BRITISH

Rx. HE TOOK *Ex.* BY COURAGE
Seven ships.

112 *Ob.* THE o BRITISH o GLORY o REVIV o D o BY o ADMIRAL o VERNON o. Line.
½ length to l.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY ·
Seven ships. 2–2–1–1–1. 5 to r. and 2 to l. One bow on and one stern to. Tower and steeple at L and I. Outer water lines. *Ex.* BY · COURAGE · AND/CONDUCT. 23.5 mm.
Am. Jour. Num., 1899, Oct., p. 44.

TYPE 6D. *Ob.* THE BRITISH GLORY

Rx. THE TOOK
½ length to l.

113 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON · No line.
½ length to l. Finger at I. Elbow at R.

Rx. THE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · No line.
Ships 3–3. Upper 3 to l. 2 small boats. Tower at LO. Faint water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 1739 36 mm. Brass. M. I. 108.
Coll. MS.

114 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON · No line.
½ length to left. Finger at RI. Elbow at V.

Rx. THE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY ·
Ships 3–3. Upper ones to l. 2 small vessels. Steeple at LO. Lower water lines and lines under left fort which has two flags. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 36 mm. Brass. Schulman, 1909, Oct., No. 2298. (This is Betts 198 x 252.) Coll. MS.

TYPE 6D–1. *Ob.* THE BRITISH

Rx. THE TOOK
½ length to l. Seven ships.

115 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV * D * BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON *. Line.
Finger between E and B. Elbow at V. Forearm extended.

Rx. THE · TOOK * PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHPS · ONLY *
Seven ships. 3–3, with one added to left. 2 small vessels. *Ex.* NOV · 22, 1739. 37 mm. Copper. Betts 247a.

TYPE 6E. *Ob.* THE BRITISH GLORY.

Rx. WHO TOOK . . . WITH SIX MEN OF WAR ONLY.
½ length to l.

116 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON · Line.
½ length to l. Finger to l. of B. Elbow at O.

Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · MEN · OF · WAR · ONLY
Ships 2–4. 5 to r. No boats. Tower and steeples at O, W, H. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 · 1739 36 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 203.

117 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · MEN · OF · WAR · ONLY ·
Ships 2–4. 5 to r. 2 small vessels. Tower and steeples at second L, W, H. Outer

water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22·1739. 36 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 204.

118 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON Line.
½ length to l. Finger to r. of E. Elbow at E.

Rx. WHO TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·MEN·OF·WAR·ONLY· Line.
Ships 2–1–3. 5 to r. 2 boats. Steeples at second L, W, H. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739. 36 mm. Brit. Mus. 69.
Cast in Coll. MS.

119 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON· Line.
½ length to l. Finger to l. of B. Elbow at last N.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·MEN·OF·WAR·ONLY Line.
Ships 1–1–4 (one in mouth of harbor). 5 to r. No boats. Tower and steeples at W, H, X. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22·1739 37 mm. Brass. Betts 205.

120 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last, but leaf after ONLY
37 mm. Brass. Coll. MS.

121 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON Line.
½ length to l. Finger at left of B. Elbow at R.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·MEN·OF·WAR·ONLY· Line.
Ships 2–1–3. 5 to r. 2 vessels. Tower and steeples at second L, W, H. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22·1739. 36 mm. Brass.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

122 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last, but tower and steeples at O, just after W, and at H. 36 mm. M. I. 65.
Cast in Coll. MS.

123 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON· Line.
½ length to l. Finger to r. of B. Elbow at O.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·MEN·OF·WAR·ONLY
Ships 2–4. 5 to r. Tower and steeples at LL, OW, T. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739/OH

124 *Ob.* As last.
Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · MEN · OF · WAR · ONLY
Ships in acute angle, 5 to r., one at r., sailing l. 3 boats. Steeples to r. of O and l. of T. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739/OH. 37 mm. Copper. Betts 206.

125 *Ob.* As last.
Rx. As last, but no boats.
Cleveland Coll.

126 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON –
½ length to l. Finger to r. of B.
Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · MEN · OF · WAR · ONLY Line.
Ships, 3 diagonally to r. Below, 2 to r., and one to l. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/9.

127 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line.
½ length to l. Finger to l. of B. Elbow at E.
Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · MEN · OF · WAR · ONLY
Ships 2–1–3. 5 to r. 2 boats. Steeples at W, H, X. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739

128 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line.
½ length to l. Finger at B. Elbow at N.
Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · MEN · OF · WAR · ONLY Line.
Ships 1–1–2–2. 5 to r. 3 small boats. Towers after O and at IT. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 · 1739 37 mm. Brass. M. I. 112. Coll. MS.

129 *Ob.* THE o BRITISH o GLORY o REVIV o D o BY o ADMIRL o VERNON
½ length to l. Finger at B.
Rx. WHO o TOOK o PORTO o BELLO o WITH o SIX o MEN o OF o WAR o ONLY. Line.
Ships 2–1–3. 5 to r. *Ex.* NOV · 22 1739 *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/8.

TYPE 6E–1. *Ob.* THE BRITISH GLORY
Rx. WHO TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY. ½ length to l.

130 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line.
½ length to l. Finger touches line at l. of B. Baton at last N.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY Line.
Ships 1–2–3. All to r. No boats. Steeple at WI. Faint outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739 37 mm. M. I. 109.

Ob. THE BRITISH GLORY.

Rx. WHO TOOK PORTO BELLO.

TYPE 7A. 131 *Ob.* THE BRITISH GLORY REVIV D BY·ADMIRAL VERNON Line.
½ length to l. Finger touches line.

Rx. WHO·TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY Line.
As last. 37 mm. Brass. M. I. 109, var.
M. H. S.

132 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH:GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON· Line.
½ length to l. Finger at T. Elbow at first N.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY Line.
Ships 2–4. All l. No boats. Tower and steeples at E, O, T. No lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739/ornament of two leaves with separate stems. 37 mm. Brass. Betts 196.
M. H. S.

133 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last, but *Ex.* NOV 22 1739/ornament of two leaves with separate stems. 37 mm. Brass. Coll. MS.

134 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON Line.
½ length to l. Finger at BR. Elbow at E. Baton at l.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY. Line.
Ships 2–4. 5 to r. 2 boats. Tower and steeples at second L, OW, T. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739 26 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 207. Brit. Mus. 20. M. H. S.
Cast in Coll. M.S.

135 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON· Line.
½ length ¾ to l. Finger at BR. Baton at O.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY·
As last? *Ex.* NOV·22·1739·/scroll work. 26 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 209.

136 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON. Line.
½ length to l. Finger at T. Elbow at N. Baton at O.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY· Line.
Ships 1–2–3. All r. No boats. Steeple below B. Tower below O. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 37 mm. Brass.
Coll. MS.

137 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON· Line.
½ length to l. Finger at T. Elbow at first N. Baton at O.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY· Line.
Ships 2–4. All l. Tower and steeples at O, W, T. No lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739·/ ornament of two leaves with crossed stems. 36 mm. Brit. Mus. 15. Cast in Coll. MS.

138 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON. Line.
½ length to l. Finger at B. Elbow at E. Baton at G.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY Line.
Ships 1–2–3. All r. No boats. Steeple to l. of I. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739 Break under 17. 37 mm. Brass.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

TYPE 7B.

Ob. THE BRITISH

Rx. HE TOOK. ½ length to right.

139 *Ob.* THE BRITISH:GLORY REV:D:BY:AD:VERNON. No line.
½ figure ¾ to right. To r. a cannon. To l. a ship sailing r.

Rx. HE·TOOK·PORTO·BELO WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY Line.
Ships 1–2–3. All r. 2 small vessels in harbor. 36 x 25 mm. Brass. Betts 219 (*incorrectly described*). Salbach 70.

TYPE 8A. FULL LENGTH TO LEFT.

Ob. THE BRITISH

Rx. HE TOOK.

140 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON No line.
N's reversed. Full length to l. Sword in

right. Left hand on hip. Sword at Y. To l. a cannon.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY Line.
Ships 2–1–3. All r. No boats. Water lines. *Ex.* NO · 22 · 1739. N reversed. 26 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 220. M. I. 134. M. H. S. Coll MS.

141 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line.
N's reversed. Full length to l. Baton at G. To l. a cannon, to r. a ship sailing r. Left hand on hip.

Rx. HE TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY · ·
Ships 2–1–3. All r. 3 small vessels in harbor. Steeple and tower at second L and I. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 (very small). N reversed. 38.5 mm. Brass. 38 mm. Silvered. 38 mm. Brass. 37 mm. Copper. 40 mm. Betts 221.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

142 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last, but *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 (very large). 38 mm. Brass. Copper. 37 mm. Copper. 40 mm. Brass. Betts 222. M. I. 121.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

143 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON
Full length to l. Sword in r. Baton in l. Cannon to l. Ship to r.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY
Position of ships not given. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 34 mm. Brass. Betts 225. M. I. 123.

144 *Ob.* THE BRITISH GLORY · REVIV D BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON
Full length to l. on square platform.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · NOV
Position of ships not given. *Ex.* 22 · 1739./ I. K. DUBLIN (probably I. R.). *Num. Chron.*, 1900, p. 88/178.

145 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIVD : BY · ADMIRAL · : VERNON Line.
Full length to l. on platform. Cannon to l. Anchor to r.

Rx. HE TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY. Line.
Ships 2–1–3. All r. 3 small vessels. 8 buildings. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739. All N's reversed. 37 mm. Copper. Betts 223.

146 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH:GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL: VERNON. Line.
Full length to l. Baton in left hand. Right hand extended. Cannon to l. Anchor to r. N's reversed.

Rx. As last.
37 mm. Brass. Betts 224. Fonrobert 8280. M. I. 124. M. H. S. Coll. MS.

TYPE 8B. *Ob.* THE BRITISH

Rx. TOOK PORTO BELLO.
Full length to l.

147 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL· VERNON. Line.
N's reversed. Full length to l. on platform. Baton in right. Left hand on hip. Cannon to l. Ship to r. (Obverse of Betts 221.)

Rx. TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY
Ships 1–2–3, all to r. 2 boats and one small vessel in harbor. Steeple to r. of O. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 (Reverse of Betts 255.) Schulman (Ulex sale), 1908, May, No. 2217.

TYPE 8C. *Ob.* THE BRITISH

Rx. WHO TOOK PORTO BELLO.
Full length to l.

148 *Ob.* THE BRITISH GLORY REVIV·D BY ADMIRAL VERNON. Line.
Full length to l. on platform. Scabbard projects. Cannon to l. To r. a ship with bow at V. (Betts 221, with N's corrected.)

Rx. WHO TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY Line.
Ships 1–2–3. All to r. Boat in entrance. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 (Reverse of Betts 305.) Tower at first L. 37 mm. Brass. Silvered. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/18. Coll. MS.

TYPE 9A. FULL LENGTH TO RIGHT.

Ob. THE BRITISH

Rx. HE TOOK

149 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIVD' BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON · Line.
Full length to r. Head and feet touch rim. Sword and baton. Cannon to r. Ship without bowsprit to l.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · Line.
Ships 2–4. All to r. Tower at second L. Steeples at W, H. No boats. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 : 1739. 26 mm. Copper.
M. H. S.

150 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIVD BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line.
Full length to r. standing on border, sword in r., baton in l. Cannon to r. Ship to l.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY
Ships 2–4. 5 to r. Tower and steeples at E, second L and W. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739./ scroll. 26 mm. Brass. Betts 227.

151 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. HE TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY NOV 22 1739
Ships 1–2–3. All to l. Breakwater comes out from right side. *Ex.* ·:·I·:·R·:·DU (This is plainly an R and not K.) 38½ mm. Salbach 69.

152 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIVD · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON · Line.
Full length to r., on solid platform. Sword in r. pointing at M. Baton in l. Cannon at r. Ship at l. Bowsprit at B. Scabbard projects. Ornament under platform. N's reversed.

Rx. HE TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY. Line.
Ships 3–3. 5 to r. 3 small vessels. Steeple, building and tower at second L, W, T. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 38 mm. Brass. Betts 236.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

153 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last, but signed I C very small after 1739.
M. H. S.

154 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line.
Full length to r., on solid platform. Cannon to r. Ship to l. with flag at BR. Scabbard projects. No ornament.

Rx. HE TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY Line.
Ships 3–3. 5 to r. 2 small vessels. Tower at LL. Heavy water lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739 All N's reversed. 37 mm. Brass. Betts 237. Coll. MS.

155 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON Line.
Full length to r., on solid platform. Sword in r. Baton in l. Both point at A. Cannon to r. Ship to l., with flag at T. Scabbard projects. Small ornament below platform.

Rx. HE TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY Line.
Ships 2–1–3. 5 to r. 3 small boats. No tower or steeple. Middle building below LO. Water lines. Land chased. All N's reversed. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739 36 mm. Brass. Betts 238. 38 mm. Brass. M. H. S. Coll. MS.

156 *Ob.* As last.
Rx. As last, but I. K./DUBLIN (probably I. R.). *Num. Chron.*, 1900.

157 *Ob.* As last, but no ornament below.
Rx. As last. M. I. 120.

158 *Ob.* As 147.
Rx. As last, but ships 2–1–3. All to r. (No I. K.) M. H. S.

159 *Ob.* As last.
Rx. HE TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY Line.
Ships 2–1–3. 5 to r. 3 boats. 4 buildings on mole, 3 with crosses. No towers or steeples. Water lines. N's reversed. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739 Small 22. 37 mm. Brit. Mus. 119.

160 *Ob.* As last.
Rx. As last, but distinct towers and buildings under LL, W, T, and 22 in exergue large. 37 mm. M. I. 119 variety. Cast in Coll. MS.

161 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV' D·BY·ADMIRAL VERNON Line.
N's reversed. Full length to r., on solid platform. Sword in r. Baton in l. Cannon to r. Ship to l., with flag at T. Scabbard projects. Small ornament below.

Rx. HE TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY Line.
N reversed. Ships 2–1–3. 5 to r. 3 small vessels. No tower or steeple. Building under W. Water lines. Land chased. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739 N reversed. 37 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 239. Fonrobert 8182.

162 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON· Line.
Full length to r. on platform in line with legend. Sword in r., pointing at D. Baton in l., pointing at M. Scabbard projects. Cannon to r. Ship to l. Head touches edge.

Rx. HE·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO: WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY Line.
Ships 2–1–3. 5 to r. Tower and steeples at first L, O, I. No boats. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739/ornament of 2 leaves with stems not crossed. 26 mm. Brit. Mus. 18. Coll. MS.

163 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last, but ships 2–1–3. All to l. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/26.

164 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. HE·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY· Line.
Ships 2–4. All r. One in harbor. *Ex.* NOV·22:1739. Fonrobert 8285.

165 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON Line.
N's reversed. Full length to r., on platform. Baton at M. Cannon to r. with single leaf. Ship to l., with bow at B. *Ex.* Ornament.

Rx. HE·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY·:·
Ships 2–1–3. All r. Tower at first L and I. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 N reversed. 38 mm. White metal. M. H. S.

166 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON. Line.
N's reversed. Full length to r. Sword and baton. Scabbard projects. Cannon to r. Ship to l., sailing r. Ornament below.

Rx. HE TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY Line.
N reversed. Ships 2–1–3. All to r. *Ex.*

NOV · 22 1739 N reversed. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/27.

167 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON · Line.
Full length to r. Sword at D. Baton at I. Cannon to r. Ship to left, with bowsprit at I. Ornament below in rim with legend.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · Line.
Ships 2–4. 5 to r. Steeples and towers at E, W, T. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739/ ornament. Right ship is higher. 37 mm. Brass. Coll. MS.

168 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY
Ships 2–4. All to r., but right hand one is in lower line. *Ex.* Nov · 22 · 1739/ornament. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/25.

169 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON · Line.
Full length to r., on platform. Sword in r. Baton in l. Cannon at r. Ship at l. with bowsprit at I. Ornament below platform in rim with legend.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · Line.
Ships 2–4. 5 to r. No boats. Steeples and tower at E, O, I. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739/ornament with 3 stems. 36 mm. Copper. Betts 240. M. H. S.

170 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last, but steeples at first I , W, T. 36 mm. Brass. M. H. S.

171 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADM · L · VERNON Line.
N's reversed. Full length to r. on platform. Sword and baton at Y. Cannon to r. Ship to l., stern at BR. *Ex.* I · GILES

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY Line.
N reversed. Ships 2–1–3. All r. 2 small vessels. Waves in harbor. *Ex.* NO: 22: 1739 N reversed. 26 mm. Brass. Betts 241. M. I. 133.

172 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADM · L · VERNON No line.
N's reversed. Full length to r., on platform. Sword and baton at B. To r., a cannon. To left, an anchor.

Rx. · HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY oo Line.
N reversed. Ships 2–1–3. All to r. 3 small vessels. No steeple. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739. N not reversed. 26 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 226.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

173 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. HE : TOOK : PORTO : BELLO : WITH : SIX : SHIPS : ONLY Line.
N reversed. Ships 2–2–2. All to r. 2 small vessels. No towers. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV : 22 · 1739 N reversed. 26 mm. M. I. 132.

TYPE 9B–1. FULL LENGTH TO RIGHT.

Ob. THE BRITISH

Rx. WHO TOOK. Ship to left.

174 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIVD BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON · Line.
Full length to r., standing on border of medal. Sword in r., baton in l. Cannon at r. Ship at l.

Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY ·
Ships 2–4. All r. No boats. Tower and steeples at LO, W, H. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 No ornament. 26 mm. Brass. Betts 228.

175 *Ob.* THE BRITISH GLORY REVIV · D BY ADMIRAL VERNON No line.
Full length to r., on carriage of cannon prolonged to double leaf. Sword in r. Baton in l. Cannon to r. Ship to l. Below, an ornament of convex shell with three leaves each side. Bowsprit at I.

Rx. WHO TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY No line.
Ships 2–1–3. All to l. No boats or steeple. No lines. Double line above date. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 (1739 slanting). 37 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 229. M. H. S.

176 *Ob.* As last.
Rx. As last, but NOV 22 1739/=

177 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON Line.
Full length to r., on carriage of cannon prolonged to double leaf. Below, convex shell with two large and two small leaves on each side. Cannon to r. Ship to l., with bowsprit at SH.
Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY· Line.
Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Towers at LO, W, T. No lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739·/ ornament of two crossed twigs. 37 mm. Brass. Copper, silvered. Coll. MS.

178 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON· Line.
Full length to r., on carriage of cannon prolonged to quadruple leaf. Sword and baton. Cannon to r. Ship to l., with bowsprit at H. Below, convex shell with three large and three small leaves each side.
Rx. WHO·TOOK PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY Line.
Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Tower and steeples at E, O, T. No lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739/ two stems not crossed. 36 mm. Brass, gilded. Betts 233. Coll. MS.

179 *Ob.* As last.
Rx. As last, but no ornament under date. M. I. 117.

180 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON· Line.
Full length to r., on carriage prolonged to single leaf. Sword and baton. Cannon to r. Ship to l., bowsprit at S. Below, concave shell with fleur-de-lys and leaf on each side.
Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY
Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Water lines. Tower and steeples at E, second L, W. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739/ornament. (Dots high.) 36 mm. Brass. Betts 230.

181 *Ob.* As last.
Rx. As last, but ornament of 2 stems crossed below date.
36 mm. Brass. Betts 231. M. I. 116.

182 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last, but tower and steeples at E, O, W. 37 mm. Brass. M. H. S.

183 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. MAKE : ROOM : FOR : SIR : ROBERT. (Betts 242.) A "mule."

184 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line.
Full length to r., on carriage prolonged to double leaf. Sword and baton. Cannon to r. Ship to l., with bowsprit at H. Below, convex shell with two large and two small leaves each side.

Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLV Line.
Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Towers at BE, O, T. No lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739/ two twigs not crossed. 37 mm. Copper. Coll. MS.

185 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON · Line.
Full length to r., on carriage prolonged to single leaf. Sword and baton. Cannon to r. Ship to l., with bowsprit at H. Ornament of convex shell with three large and three small leaves on each side.

Rx. As last.
Am. Jour. Num., 1899, p. 90. Fonrobert 8283.

186 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line.
Full length to r., on carriage prolonged to single leaf. Sword and baton. Cannon to r. Ship to l., bowsprit at H. Below, ornament of convex shell with 2 large and 3 small leaves on each side.

Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS: ONLY:
Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Tower and steeples at O, W, T. Faint water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 · / Two twigs not crossed. 35.5 mm. Brass, gilded. Betts 233.

187 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. WHO ° TOOK °
Schulman, 1909, Oct., No. 2303.

188 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line.
Full length to r., on carriage prolonged to single leaf. Ship to l., with bowsprit at S.

Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY
Ships 2–4. All to l. Towers at E, O, W. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 · /crossed twigs.
M. H. S.

189 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON · Line.
Full length to r. Ship to l., bowsprit at SH.

Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY
Ships 2–4. All to l. Tower and steeples at E, O, T. No lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739/ two stems crossed. 36 mm. Schulman (Ulex sale), 1909, Mar., No. 2220.

190 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON · Line.
Full length to r., on carriage prolonged to double leaf. Below, concave shell, a trefoil and leaf on each side. Cannon to r. Ship to l., with bowsprit at IS.

Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY Line.
Ships 2–1–3. All to l. Boat under middle lower ship. No boats. Tower and steeples at E, second L, I. No lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 · /two crossed twigs. 37 mm. Brass. M. I. 116. Coll. MS.

191 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON · Line.
Full length to r., on carriage prolonged to single leaf. Sword and baton. Cannon to r. Ship to l., bowsprit at H. Below, convex shell with on each side two large and three small leaves.

Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS: ONLY:
Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Tower and steeples at O, W, T. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 · /ornament — separate stems. 36 mm. Brass. Betts 232.

192 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last, but stems of ornament are crossed. 37 mm. Brass. M. H. S.

193 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line all the way around with lines in exergue.
Full length to r., on lines forming ground. Sword and baton. Cannon to r. Ship to l., with bowsprit at IS.

Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · Line.
Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Steeples at first L, O, I. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 · /convex shell with leaf at each side. 36 mm. Brass. Betts 234.
M. H. S.

194 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last, but no ornament under date.
36 mm. Brass. Betts 235. M. I. 117.

195 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line.
As last, but no lines in exergue.

Rx. As last, but no tower under first L.
36 mm. Brass. Coll. MS.

196 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line.
Full length to r., on carriage prolonged to single leaf. Sword and baton. Cannon to r. Ship to l., with bowsprit at H. Below, convex shell with 2 large and 2 small leaves each side.

Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY Line.
Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Tower and steeples at H, O, I. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739/two twigs not crossed. 37 mm. Brass. Coll. MS.

197 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line.
Full length to r., on cannon prolonged to single leaf. Cannon to r. Ship to l., with bowsprit at H. Below, concave shell with three large and two small leaves on each side.

Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY Line.
Ships 1–2–3. All to r. No lines. Towers at B and O. No boats. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/23.

198 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON Line.
Full length to r., on carriage prolonged to single leaf. Cannon to r. Ship to l., with bowsprit at H. Below, convex shell with two large and two small leaves on each side.
Rx. ·WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY Line.
Ships 1–2–3. All to r. No boats. Tower and steeples at B, O, W. No lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 36 mm. Brass. Coll. MS.

TYPE 9B–2. FULL LENGTH TO RIGHT.
Ob. THE BRITISH Ship to left.
Rx. WHO TOOK Seven ships.
199 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON
Full length to r., on carriage prolonged to single leaf. Ship to left with bowsprit at H. Below, convex shell with three large and two small leaves on each side.
Rx. WHO TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY ornament.
Seven ships 3–1–2–1. All to l. Tower and steeples at E, second L, and O. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739/ornament. 23.5 mm. *Am. Jour. Num.*, 1889, p. 45/3.

TYPE 9B–3. FULL LENGTH TO RIGHT.
Ob. THE BRITISH Ship to right.
Rx. WHO TOOK
200 *Ob.* THE BRITISH GLORY REVIV D BY ADMIRAL VERNON Line.
Full length to r., on solid platform. Baton in r., pointing to Y. Left hand on hip. Cannon to l. Ship to r., with bow at V.
Rx. WHO TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY Line.
Ships 1–2–3. All to r. One boat in mouth of harbor. Steeple at first L. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 38 mm. Brass, silvered. Copper. Coll. MS.

FORT CHAGRE.

TYP 10A. FORT CHAGRE. HALF LENGTH.
Ob. HATH ONCE MORE REVIVD
Rx. BY THE TAKEING HALF LENGTH.
201 *Ob.* HATH·ONCE·MORE·REVIV·V·THE·BRITISH·GLORY:· Line.

Half length facing. Baton in l. Tree to l. To r., a fort over which FORT/CHAGRE. Under the fort a ship sailing to r. *Ex.* THE·HON·EDWARD/VERNON·ESQ. All N's reversed.

Rx. ·BY·THE·TAKEING·OF·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY·NOV·THE·22·1739· Line. Ships 3–3 in diagonal lines rising from l. 5 to r. 5 small vessels in harbor. One outside. Tower and steeple at IT and between X and S. Water lines covering harbor. *Ex.* ·:·I·:·W·:· 38 mm. Copper. Betts 275. M. I. 154. M. H. S. Coll. MS.

TYPE IOB. *Ob.* IN MEMORY OF ADMIRAL VERNON

Rx. WHO TOOK PORTO BELLO

203 *Ob.* IN MEMORY OF ADMIRAL VERNON. No line. ½ figure to r. Before him cannon, sword, flags, horn, pike. To l. a fort under which FORT/CHAGRE. No cannon balls under cannon. In field to r., I·M·

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY·

Ships 1–2–3. 2 to r. Small vessel and boat in harbor. Under right fort a boat from which man climbs to fort. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739· Tower under E. Steeple before W. 38 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 291. Coll. MS.

204 *Ob.* As last, but FORT/CHAGRE

Rx. WHO·TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY·

As last. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 35 mm. M. I. 147.

205 *Ob.* IN MEMORY OF ADMIRAL VERNON No line. ½ length to r. Baton in r. To l. a fort under which FORT/CHAGRE. To r., cannon, sword, battle-axe, flag and cannon balls.

Rx. WHO TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY No line.

Ships 1–2–3. 2 to l. Small vessel and boat in harbor. Boat below right fort, from which a man climbs into fort. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 Tower at E. Steeple before W. 36 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 292. M. I. 148. Cast in Coll. MS.

206 *Ob.* IN·MEMORY·OF·ADMIRAL·VERNON No line. ½ length to r. Before him cannon, flag,

sword, etc. To l. a fort with no name under it. Below, T·B. No cannon balls.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY No line.
Position of ships not given. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739 33 mm. Silver. Betts 293.

207 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. WHO TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY No line.
Ships 1–2–3. All to r. No boats. Towers at O, E, W. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 32 mm. M. I. 149.

TYPE 10C. *Ob.* PORTO BELLO TAKEN

Rx. WITH SIX SHIPS

208 *Ob.* PORTO·BELLO·TAKEN·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON Line.
½ length, ¾ to l. To l., a fort over which FORT CHAGRE

Rx. WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY·NOV·22·1739
Position not given. 33 mm. Copper. Betts 290.

209 *Ob.* PORTO·BELLO·TAKEN·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON: Line.
½ length, ¾ to l. Baton in r. Left finger below label. To l., a fort over which FORT/CHAGRE. N's reversed.

Rx. WITH o SIX o SHIPS o ONLY o NOV o 22 o 1739 o Line.
N's reversed. Ships confused. 5 to r. 4 boats. Tower at N. Land and water lines. Nothing in exergue. 33 mm. Copper. M. I. 145. Coll. MS.

TYPE 11A. *Ob.* THE BRITISH

Rx. HE TOOK

210 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON· Line.
½ length, full face. Baton in left hand. Small tree to l. In right upper field A VIEW/OF FORT/CHAGRE. At left elbow a fort under which a ship sailing to r. Field chased.

Rx. HE·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY· Line.
Ships 2–4. 5 to l. No small boats. Steeples and tower at second L, W, T. Outer water

lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739/ornament of 3 stems. 36 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 281 and 282.

211 *Ob.* As last, but field smooth.
Rx. As last, but ships 2–4. 5 to right. 36 mm. Brass. Betts 283. M. I. 150.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

212 *Ob.* As last. Field smooth.
Rx. As last. 37 mm. Salbach 99.

213 *Ob.* As last, but field chased.
Rx. As last. Salbach 100.

214 *Ob.* As last, but field smooth.
Rx. HE·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY Line.
Ships 2–4. 5 to r. Steeples at E, O. Tower at I. No boats. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739·/ornament of 3 separate stems. 36 mm. Copper. M. H. S.

215 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON Line.
½ length facing l. To r., a tree. To l., a fort under which is FORT/CHAGRE
Rx. HE·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY·
Ships 2–4. All to l. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739/ornament. 37 mm. Salbach 101 (extremely rare).

TYPE IIB. *Ob.* VICE ADRL OF THE BLEW
Rx. PORTO BELLO TAKEN

216 *Ob.* VICE AD:RL: OF THE BLEW; & COM:DER·IN CHIEF·OF ALL HIS MAI:SHIPS·IN THE WEST INDIES No line.
½ length full face. To left a tree. To r., A VIEW·/OF·FORT/CHAGRE Below a fort. Below a ship sailing to r. *Ex.* Below a heavy corded line THE HON^le EDWARD/VERNON·ESQ
Rx. PORTO BELLO·TAKEN BY ADMIRAL·VERNON·WITH SIX MEN OF WAR ONLY·NOV·22·ANNO DOM·1739 No line.
Ships 2–4. All to r. Lower four follow curve of medal. 4 vessels. Large buildings. 37 mm. Brass. Betts 276. M. I. 152.

217 *Ob.* VICE AD:ML·OF THE BLEW; & COM:ER·IN CHIEF·OF ALL HIS MAI:SHIPS IN THE WEST INDIES. No line.
As last.

Rx. As last.
37 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 277. M. I. 153.

218 *Ob.* As last, but period after VICE, none after INDIES *Ex.* THE HON: EDWARD/VERNON · ESQ

Rx. As last.
38 mm. Copper. Coll. MS.

219 *Ob.* VICE: AD: RL · OF THE BLEW & COM: ER · IN CHIEF · OF ALL HIS MAI: SHIPS IN THE WEST INDIES
½ length to r. At r., ships sailing to r. Above it a fort over which A · VIEW · /OF FORT · /CHAGRE To left a tree. *Ex.* THE HON: EDWARD/VERNON · ESQ

Rx. PORTO BELLO TAKEN · BY ADMIRAL VERNON WITH SIX MEN OF WAR ONLY · NOV · 22 · ANNO · DOM · 1739
Ships 1–2–3. All to r. 4 boats. *Am. Jour. Num.*, 1901, p. 10. M. H. S. Coll. MS.

220 *Ob.* VICE AD · RL OF THE BLEW COM · ER IN CHIEF OF ALL HIS MAI SHIPS IN THE WEST INDIES ·
¾ length to r. Hand on hip. Baton in l. hand. Tree to l. To r., ship and a fort beyond. To r., A VIEW OF FORT CHAGRE *Ex.* THE HON[le] EDWARD VERNON ESQ

Rx. PORTO BELLO TAKEN BY ADMIRAL VERNON WITH SIX MEN OF WAR ONLY NOV · 22 · ANNO · DOM · 1739
Ships 3–3. Harbor much curved. 4 small vessels and 3 forts. 37 mm. Brass. Betts 278. *Am. Jour. Num.*, II. 86/14b.

221 *Ob.* VICE · AD: RL · OF THE BLEW; & COM: ER · IN CHIEF · OF ALL · HIS · MAI: SHIPS IN THE WS: IES
No line.
½ length, full face. Baton in l. Tree at left. To r., in field A · VIEW/OF · FORT · / CHAGRE Below, a fort over ship sailing to r. *Ex.* THE · HON: EDWARD/VERNON · ESQ

Rx. PORTO · BELLO · TAKEN · BY · ADMIRAL VERNON · WITH SIX MEN OF WAR ONLY No line.
Ships 2–4. All to r. Those below follow curve of medal. 8 small vessels in harbor. 2 show only masts and stern. Small boat with man standing on shore to left in foreground. *Ex.* NOV · 22 AN DOM · 1739 38 mm.

White metal. Brass. Betts 279. Thick and thin planchets.

222 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. PORTO · BELLO · TAKEN · BY · ADMIRAL VERNON · · WITH SIX MEN OF WAR ONLY NOV · 22 · AN DOM · 1739
Design as last. 38.5 mm. Brass, gilt. Coll. MS.

223 *Ob.* VICE AD : RL · OF THE BLEW : & COM : ER · IN CHIEF OF ALL HIS · MAI · SHIPS IN THE WS : IES No line.
½ length, full face. Baton in l. Tree to l. To r., a fort over which A · VIEW · / OF · FORT / CHAGRE *Ex.* THE HON · EDWARD / VERNON · ESQ

Rx. PORTO BELLO · TAKEN BY ADMIRAL VERNON · WITH SIX MEN OF WAR ONLY · NOV · 22 ANNO DOM · 1739 · No line.
Ships 2–4. Lower 4 follow curve of medal. All to r. 4 small vessels. 38 mm. Brass. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/35.

224 *Ob.* VICE AD : RL : OF THE BLEW : & COM : DER : IN CHIEF OF · ALL HIS MAI · SHIPS IN THE WS : IES
½ length, full face. Tree to l. To r., a fort over which A · VIEW / OF · FORT / CHAGRE Below, a ship. *Ex.* THE HON · EDWARD / VERNON · ESQ ·

Rx. PORTO BELLO TAKEN BY ADMIRAL VERNON WITH SIX MEN OF WAR ONLY NOV · 22 · ANNO DOM · 1739 No line.
Ships 2–4. All to r. Those below follow curve. 8 small vessels. Boat and man standing on shore in left foreground. 40 mm. Copper. Salbach 98 (rare). M. H. S.

TYPE IIC. HALF LENGTH.

Ob. THE BRITISH

Rx. WHO TOOK

225 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON · Line.
½ length, full face. Baton in l. Flower-bush at l. In field high to r., A VIEW / OF FORT / CHAGRE (O's very large). At left elbow a fort under which is a ship.

Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · MEN · OF · WAR · ONLY · Line.
Ships 2–4. 5 to r. Steeples at O, WI, H.

No boats. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739 36 mm. Copper. *Am. Jour. Num.*, 1899, p. 46/51.
Coll. MS.

226 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON· No line.
½ length, full face. Tree at left. In field to right, A VIEW/OF FORT/CHAGRE Below, a fort over ship to r. Field chased.

Rx. WHO·TOOK PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY
Position not given. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739. 36 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 280. M.I.151.

227 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·MEN·OF·WAR·ONLY. Line.
Ships 2–4. 5 to r. No boats. Towers at O, H. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739 36 mm. M. I. 157.

228 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON· Line.
½ length facing l. Staff in r. To r., a tree. To l., a fort under which FORT/CHAGRE. Short fort.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY Line.
Y of ONLY almost touches stern of ship. Ships 2–4. All to l. Towers at E, second L, I. Fort to l. has 10 guns. Dots are very small. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739/ornament. 36 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 282.
Coll. MS.

229 *Ob.* As last. Long fort.

Rx. WHO TOOK PORTO BELLO·WITH SIX·SHIPS ONLY· Line.
2 mm. between Y and stern of ship. Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Towers at second L, T, I. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739·/two twigs with crossed stems. 37 mm. Copper. M. I. 146.
M. H. S.

TYPE 12. THREE QUARTERS LENGTH.

Ob. THE BRITISH

Rx. PORTO BELLO TAKEN

230 *Ob.* THE BRITISH GLORY (REVIV·D BY) HON·EDWARD·VERNON ESQ:VICE·ADMIRAL OF THE BLEW
¾ length facing, head to r. Baton in l. hand.

Tree to l. Ship to r. To r., a fort over which A·VIEW/OF·FORT/CHAGRE

Rx. PORTO · BELLO · TAKEN · BY · THE · COURAGE AND CONDUCT·OF ADMIRAL VERNON·WITH SIX·MEN OF WAR ONLY·NOV 22, ANNO DOM 1739 ornament.
View of city. 2 vessels. Ships confused, all to l. 2 small vessels outside, and a boat to r. 34 x 25 mm. *Am. Jour. Num.*, 1899, Oct., p. 45/6.

231 *Ob.* THE BRITISH GLORY (REVIV·D·BY) HON·EDWARD·VERNON · ESQ : VICE·ADMIRAL OF THE BLEW. Line.
¾ length facing, head to r. Baton in l. hand. Tree to l. In field to r., A·VIEW/OF·FORT/ CHAGRE Below this, a fort under which a ship sailing to r.

Rx. PORTO · BELLO · TAKEN · BY · THE · COURAGE · AND CONDUCT·OF ADMIRAL VERNON·WITH SIX MEN OF WAR ONLY·NOV·22·ANNO DOM 1739:
Ships 1–5. 4 to r. 8 vessels moored to shore, and 2 off mole. Boat with 3 men and flag near mouth of harbor. Boat with 2 men and man standing on shore under left fort. Tower at VE, and steeple at TO. 54 x 40 mm. Copper. M. H. S.

232 *Ob.* THE BRITISH GLORY REVIV·D·BY ADMIRAL VERNON
Full length with anchor to r. and cannon to l.

Rx. PORTO BELLO TAKEN BY ADMIRAL VERNON WITH SIX SHIPS·NOV·22·1739
Ships 4–2. This medal, no. 1 of the collection at the National Museum at Bogota, if correctly described, is a new type.

TYPE 13A. FULL LENGTH TO LEFT.

Ob. ADM[l] VERNON TOOK

Rx. HE TOOK PORTO

233 *Ob.* ADM[l] VERNON TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY Line.
Full length to l. Right hand pointing at fort. Baton in l. Fort to left below FORT/ CHAGRE. To r., a ship sailing to l. Water lines between ship and fort. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · ·
Ships 3–3. 3 above to l. 2 small vessels and 1 boat. Steeples and tower at O, W, H. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 36 mm. Brass. Copper, silvered. Betts 294. M. I. 144. M. H. S. Coll. MS.

TYPE 13A–1 *Ob.* THE BRITISH GLORY

Rx. HE TOOK PORTO BELLO

233A *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON · Line.
Full length ¾ to l., standing on shore. Baton in l. hand. With r. points to fort over which A · VIEW/OF · FORT/CHAGRE. To r., a ship sailing to left.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · Line.
Ships 1–2–3. 5 to l. The one to l. has large topsail set. 2 boats. Steeples at LL, W, T. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 37 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 285. M. I. 143. M. H. S. Coll. MS.

234 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last, but scroll below date.

235 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON. No line.
Full length, ¾ to l., standing on platform. To r., a fort over which A VIEW/OF FORT/CHAGRE. To l. a ship sailing to r.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · Line.
Ships 1–1–3. 3 to r. Topsails on two lower ships to l. and r. One small vessel. Tower at LL. Steeple at T. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 · 37 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 285a. M. I. 141.

236 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON No line.
Full length ¾ to l., on platform. To r., a fort over which A VIEW/OF FORT/CHAGRE To left a ship sailing to r.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · Line.
Ships as last. Tower at second L. Steeple at I. *Ex.* BY · COURAGE · AND/CONDUCT · 36 mm. Copper. Betts 286. M. I. 142. M. H. S. Coll. MS.

TYPE 13A-2 *Ob.* THE BRITISH
Rx. THE TOOK

236A. *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON· No line.
Full length to l. In field to l. A·VIEW/OF FORT CHAGRE over fort. To r. a ship sailing to l.

Rx. THE·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY· No line.
Ships 3–3. Upper 3 to r. 2 vessels. Steeple at LO *Ex.* Nov 22 1739 33 mm. Copper. A. N. S.

TYPE 13B. FULL LENGTH TO RIGHT.
Ob. THE BRITISH
Rx. HE TOOK

237 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON· Line.
Full length to r. Sword and baton. To r., a fort under which FORT/CHAGRE To l. a ship. Exergue = concave shell with on each side 2 large and 2 small leaves. Field chased.

Rx. HE·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY· Line.
Ships 2–4. All to l. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739/2 twigs not crossed. 36 mm. Copper. Betts 289, M. I. 140.

TYPE 13C. FULL LENGTH TO RIGHT.
Ob. THE BRITISH
Rx. WHO TOOK

238 *Ob.* As last, but convex shell.
Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY. Line.
Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Steeples at O, W, T. No lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739·/2 crossed twigs. 37 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 287. M. I. 139. Fonrobert 8284. Coll. MS.

239 *Ob.* As last.
Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY·
Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Steeples to r. of O, at W and T. Large forts with 14 guns each. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739/ornament of lines with two stems crossed, reaching to O. 36 mm. Copper. Betts 288.

239A. *Ob.* As last.
Rx. As last, but tower at second L. Steeples at W and T. 36 mm. Copper.
A. N. S.

CARTAGENA

TYPE 14A.

Ob. ADM[l] VERNON VIEWING
Rx. HE DESTROYD

240 *Ob.* ADM[l] VERNON · VIEWING · THE · TOWN · OF · CARTHAGENA Line.
Full length to l. Hand extended and baton in r. hand. On each side buildings below which, on each side, a ship.

Rx. HE DESTROY D THE FORTS OF CARTHAGENA No line.
A strait protected on each side by 2 forts. Between the nearest are 5 ships, 2–3. Middle forts connected by chain within which is a boat over which DON/BLASS City in rear is in straight line. *Ex.* APRIL 1741 34 mm. Brass. Silver. Betts 335. M. I. 158. M. H. S. Coll. MS.

TYPE 14B.

Ob. ADM[l] VERNON VEIWING
Rx. THE FORTS OF CARTHAGENA

241 *Ob.* ADMIRAL : VERNON : VEIWING : THE : TOWN : OF : CARTHAGANA rosette. Line.
Full length to l., on platform. Right hand extended. Baton in l. Buildings to r. and l. Under them, to l., 7 trees and to r., 3 ships and tree. *Ex.* 1740 : 1.

Rx. THE FORTS OF CARTHAGENA DESTROYD BY AD[m] VERNON No line.
Two ships to r., with 2 boats in foreground. In middle distance a strait defended on right by fort above which S · IOSEPH and on left by 3 forts, at left of lowest of which is S · IAGO In background to left, a town over which is CARTHAGENA Steeple between A and R. *Ex.* 1741 36 mm. Brass. Copper. Lead. Betts 334. M. I. 155. Koehler XIV/433. Fonrobert 8285. *Am. Jour. Num.*, II. 49/26.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

TYPE 15. FULL LENGTH TO RIGHT.

Ob. THE PRIDE OF SPAIN.
Rx. HE TOOK CARTHAGENA

242 *Ob.* THE · PRIDE · OF · SPAIN · HUMBLED · BY · AD · VERNON No line.
On platform full length to r., receiving with right hand the sword of kneeling man, over whose head DON BLASS. To right a ship sailing r. Don Blass is on r. knee. *Ex.* Ornament of lion's head and leaves.

Rx. HE · TOOK · CARTHAGENA · APR · 1 · 1741 No line.
Circular harbor with narrow entrance, protected on r. by one fort and on l. by two. Ship passing through entrance. Four ships outside and three within harbor. Houses on shore surrounding harbor. 37 mm. Brass. Betts 326, MI 170, Fonrobert 8186.
M. H. S. Cast in Coll. MS.

243 *Ob.* THE PRIDE OF SPAIN HUMBLED BY ADM.[1] VERNON Line.
On platform full length to r., who receives with r. hand the sword of kneeling man, over whom DON BLASS. To r., a ship sailing to r. *Ex.* Blank.

Rx. HE TOOK CARTHAGENA APRIL 1741
Two ships sailing to r. towards fort in foreground. Two forts in middle distance connected by chain, behind which a boat, over which DON/BLASS. In background city in straight line. Steeple at l. points at first A in CARTHAGENA. Tower in centre points at A. 34 mm. Brass. 33 mm. Copper. Betts 327.
M. H. S.

TYPE 16. FULL LENGTH TO RIGHT.

Ob. THE PRIDE OF SPAIN

Rx. HE TOOK PORTO BELLO

244 *Ob.* THE PRIDE OF SPAIN HUMBELED BY ADMIRAL VERNON Line.
Full length to r. Hat in extended l. With right he receives sword from man on left knee. No DON BLASS. Left fort projects over inner line of circle. Behind DE stern of ship with St. George's cross.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY
Ships, 2 on line with other four arranged with the first, and third, lower than others. All to r. 2 vessels, 1–1 to r. of upper fort. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739–/ornament. *Am. Jour. Num.*, 1898, p. 81.

245 *Ob.* THE · PRIDE · OF · SPAIN · HUMBLE · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON Line going all the way around. Under platform ornament of lion's head and leaves. Full length to r., on large platform receiving sword from kneeling man over whom DON BLASS. To r., a large ship stern to, with large St. George's flag. Scroll completes the legend.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY Line.
Ships 2–4, the first and third from left of lower ones lower than others. 2 vessels in harbor. All ships to r. Low steeples at E and I. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 (this last N reversed). 37 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 304. M. I. 167.

246 *Ob.* THE PRIDE OF SPAIN HUMBLED BY ADM[l] VERNON Line.
On small platform full length to r., receiving sword from kneeling man over whom DON BLASS. To r., a small ship sailing to r.

Rx. HE TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY Line.
Ships 1–2–3. All to r. Small boat in mouth of harbor. Tower and steeple at first L and I. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 34 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 305. M. I. 169.
Coll. MS.

247 *Ob.* THE · PRIDE · OF · SPAIN · HUMBLED * BY · AD: VERNON. No line.
On platform full length to r., receives sword from kneeling man over whom DON · BLASS (N reversed). To r., a ship sailing to r. *Ex.* Ornament of lion's head and leaves.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY Line.
Leaf before legend. Ships 1–2–3. All to r. Below right fort, a small boat in which a man with arms raised. No boats. No lines. Tower and steeple at second L and WI. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 Break in die below 2.17. 38 mm. Brass, silvered. Copper. Betts 306. M. I. 168. Fonrobert 8289. M. H. S.

248 *Ob.* As last.
Rx. As last, but NOV · 22 · 1739/ornament.

249 *Ob.* As last, but N in DON not reversed.
Rx. As last, but no break under date.
37 mm. Copper. Coll. MS.

250 *Ob.* As last.
Rx. As last, but break under 2.1. M. H. S.

251 *Ob.* THE · PRIDE · OF · SPAIN · HUMBLED ✠ BY · AD: VERNON Line. As 234.
Rx. As 231.
37 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 307.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

TYPE 17. *Ob.* I CAME
Rx. NONE MORE READY

252 *Ob.* I · CAME · I · SAW · I · CONQUERED No line.
½ length to l., with right hand extended and baton in l. *Ex.* On label CARTHAGENA
Rx. NONE · MORE · READY · NON · MORE · BRAVE · APRIL · 1741. Line.
Two ships sailing to r. towards fort in foreground. Above them 2 boats. Two forts in middle distance connected by chain. In harbor, a boat above which DON/BLASS. Tree behind fort at right. Harbor indicated by semicircular line. City above in straight line. 37 mm. Brass. Silvered. Betts 333, M. I. 159, Fonrobert 8183. M. H. S. Coll. MS.

TYPE 18. *Ob.* ADMIRAL VERNON THE PRESERVER
Rx. TOOK CARTHAGENA

253 *Ob.* ADMIRAL · VERNON · THE · PRESERVER · OF · HIS · COUNTRY Line.
Full length to l. Baton in l. On each side a fort with small vessel under it.
Rx. TOOK · CARTHAGENA
5 vessels and a boat approaching gut, inside of which are 2 large vessels and many boats. On left shore of gut the forts S · IOS, BOCACHICA, S · PHILIPS and IAGO are indicated. *Ex.* 1741.
37 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 332, M. I. 156, Fonrobert 8184, Koehler XIII/353.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

254 Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, No. 52890, is "something like this" and "unpublished."

255 *Ob.* As 253.
Rx. As 253, but no date.
38 mm. Gilt. Coll. MS.

TYPE 19. *Ob.* THE SPANISH PRIDE PULLD DOWN
Rx. TRUE BRITISH HEROES

256 *Ob.* THE · SPANISH · PRIDE · PULLD · DOWN · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON (last N small). Line.
Full length to r., with sword in r. hand receives

sword from man on both knees, over whom DON/BLASS. *Ex.* Convex shell with 2 leaves on each side.

Rx. TRUE BRITISH HEROES TOOK CARTHAGENA Line.
Two ships before harbor which has 2 forts to r., and one to l. Both ships to r. Left one points down. Inside chain a boat with 3 men, over which DON/BLASS. City in straight line. *Ex.* APRIL 1741 Flagstaff at E. Coast line at B and T. 36 mm. Brass. Betts 328.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

257 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last, but left ship points up and flagstaff is at ES. Coast line at E and H. 36 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 329. M. I. 169.

258 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. TRUE BRITISH HEROES TOOK CARTHAGENA Line.
Two ships sailing to r. towards a fort, below which is a boat. Two forts in middle distance connected by chain, inside which is a ship over water lines. Flagstaff at O, Steeple at K. Coast at U and H. City in straight line. Outer water lines. *Ex.* APRIL 1741. No DON BLASS. 36 mm. Copper. Betts 330. M. I. 163. M. H. S. Coll. MS.

TYPE 20. *Ob.* THE PRIDE OF SPAIN

Rx. VERNON CONQUERD

259 *Ob.* THE · PRIDE · OF · SPAIN · HUMBLED · BY · AD: VERNON · Line.
On small platform full length to r. receiving sword from kneeling man, over whom DON · BLASS (N reversed). To r., a ship sailing to r. *Ex.* Ornament of lion's head and leaves.

Rx, VERNON: CONQUERD: CARTHAGENA
Four ships 1–3, to r. Town on left on hill. Leaf ornament divides water from exergue. Heavy water lines. *Ex.* APRIL 1: 1741 37 mm. Brass. Betts 325, M. I. 171, Fonrobert 8190. Coll. MS.

260 *Ob.* THE · PRIDE (*irregularly cut*) · OF · SPAIN · HUMBLED · BY · AD: VERNON No line.
Full length to r., receives sword from DON BLASS. Small ship to r. *Ex.* Ornament of lion's head and leaves.

Rx. VERNON:CONQUERD:CARTHAGENA No line.
4 ships. *Ex.* APRIL leaf/:1741. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/37. M. H. S.

261 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. VERNON·CONQUERD·CARTHAGENA·
4 ships. *Ex.* Ornament/APRIL 1·1741. Schulman, 1905, Apr., p. 328.

TYPE 21. FULL LENGTH TO RIGHT.

Ob. THE SPANISH PRIDE PULLD DOWN

Rx. WHO TOOK PORTO BELLO

262 *Ob.* THE SPANISH PRIDE PULLD DOWN BY ADM[1] VERNON Line.
Full length, sword in r. hand receives sword from man on both knees, over whom DON/BLASS. *Ex.* Ornament of convex shell and one leaf on each side.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY Line.
Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Tower and steeples at E, O, T. No lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739/two twigs not crossed. 36 mm. Brass. Betts 297. M. H. S. Coll. MS.

263 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last, but NOV 22 1739/ornament of 2 leaves.

264 *Ob.* THE·SPANISH·PRIDE·PULLD·DOWN·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON· Line.
Full length to r., sword in r. hand receives sword from man on both knees, over whom DON/BLASS. *Ex.* Convex shell with two leaves on each side.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY Line.
Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Tower and steeples at E, second L, I. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739/ornament of leaves with single stem. 36 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 298. Fonrobert 8288. Coll. MS.

265 *Ob.* THE SPANISH PRIDE PULLD DOWN BY ADMIRAL VERNON Line.
As last. *Ex.* G/BRADBURY

Rx. WHO TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY
Ships 1–2–3. All to r. One boat to r. of fort. Steeples at L and WI. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 34 mm. Copper. Betts 303. N. Y. Hist. Soc.

266 *Ob.* As last, with ornament of convex shell and 2 leaves each side, not signed.

Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY. Line.
Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Towers at first L, W, TH. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 · /ornament of 4 leaves with stems crossed. 36 mm. Brass. Betts 299. M. I. 165. M. H. S.

267 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · Line.
Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Tower and steeples to l. of W, O, T. Large forts of 10 guns each. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 · /leaves with single stem and reaching to V. 36 mm. Brass. Betts 300.

268 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · Line.
Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Tower and steeples at O, W, T. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 · /4 leaves with crossed stems. 37 mm. Copper. M. H. S.

269 *Ob.* As last, but small o over DON

Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLV
Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Tower and steeples at E, second L, and I. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 · /ornament with single stem. 36 mm. Copper. Betts 301.

270 *Ob.* THE SPANISH PRIDE PULLD DOWN BY ADMIRAL VERNON Line.
Full length to r., with sword in r. hand receives sword from man on both knees, over whom DON/BLASS Vernon stands on line. No ornament.

Rx. WHO o TOOK o PORTO o BELLO o WITH o SIX o SHIPS o ONLY Line.
Ships 1–2–3. All to r. Boat at mouth of harbor and 2 within. Towers at EL and WI. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 26 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 302. M. I. 166.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

HAVANA.[1]

TYPE 22A. *Ob.* ED VERNON ESQ VICE ADMIRAL
Rx. HE TOOK PORTO BELLO

271 *Ob.* ED:VERNON ESQ:VICE ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE Line.
Full length to l., standing on ground with l. foot on carriage of cannon. In field to l. a town, under which HAVANAH In field to r. a ship to r. Cannon to l. of Vernon.

Rx. *Butterfly* HE·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY Line.
Ships 1–2–3. All to r. Boat with man under fort to r. No boat in harbor. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739 36 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 314. M. I. 178. Fonrobert 8377. M. H. S. Coll. MS.

TYPE 22B. *Ob.* ED VERNON ESQ
Rx. VERNON CONQUERD CARTHAGENA

272 *Ob.* As last.
Rx. VERNON:CONQUERD:CARTHAGENA Line.
4 ships all to r. Town on hill to l. Flowery ornament divides off exergue. *Ex.* APRIL 1:1741 37 mm. Copper. Betts 315. M. I. 177. Brass in Coll. MS.

TYPE 22C. *Ob.* ED VERNON ESQ
Rx. WHO TOOK PORTO BELLO

273 *Ob.* As last.
Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY Line.
Ships 1–2–3. All to r. No boats. No boat under fort. Tower and steeple at second L and WI. *Ex.* NOV·22, 1739 36 mm. Brass. Copper. Silvered. Betts 313. M. I. 179? M. H. S.

VERNON AND ARGYLL

Vernon and Argyll were associated as being perhaps the foremost of the opponents of the Walpole ministry.

TYPE 23A. 274 *Ob.* THE·BRAVE·ADMIRAL·VERNON. Bust to l. No line.

Rx. HIS·GRACE·THE·DUKE·OF·ARGYLE· Bust to r. No line.
27 mm. Copper. Betts 244. M. I. 189.

[1] No assault was made upon Havana.

TYPE 23B. 275 *Ob.* NON·DORMIT·QUI·VINCIT· No line.
½ figure ¾ to r. Left hand on sword. Right on mouth of cannon. To r., a ship sailing to r. *Ex.* On label ADMIRAL·VERNON 1739·I M

Rx. IN·HUNC·INTUENS·CLARUS·ESTO No line.
Full length to r., in robes with collar of Garter with the George. Leans on column on which is his coronet. Behind him is a trophy. *Ex.* On label THE DUKE OF ARGYLE 38 mm. Copper. M. I. 188.

276 *Ob.* As last, but 1739·/I M.

Rx. As last. 38 mm. Copper. Betts 245.

TYPE 23C. 277 *Ob.* VICE·ADMIRAL·VERNON·NON·DORMIT·QUI·VINCIT No line.
½ length to l. Left hand on muzzle of cannon pointing up to left. Baton in right. Above cannon a ship sailing to left. Exergue vacant. On cannon 17/39/T·M·

Rx. IN·HUNC·INTUENS·CLARUS·ESTO No line.
Full length to r., in robes leaning on column on which coronet. *Ex.* On ribbon, DUKE OF ARGYLE 39 mm. Brass. *Am. Jour. Num.*, 1905, Apr., p. 100. Coll. MS.

TYPE 23D. 278 *Ob.* ·THE·GENEROUSE:DUKE:OF:ARGYLE *rosette.*
Full length to r., in robes, leaning on column on which coronet. Trophy behind him. *Ex.* On label NO ·· PENTIONER

Rx. . . . MAKE·ROOM·FOR·SIR:ROBERT
The Devil leading Sir Robert Walpole by rope around his neck into the open mouth of dragon at left. Legend is on label coming from Devil's mouth. *Ex.* NO: EXCISE 36 mm. Brass. Betts 247.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

While not a "Vernon" this piece is generally included in the Vernon list, owing to the close relation between Vernon and Argyll. The reverse occurs on several Vernon medals.

VERNON AND BROWN

Brown, commanding the *Hampton Court*, was second in command at Porto Bello.

TYPE 24A. HALF LENGTHS.

Ob. ADMIRAL VERNON AND COMMODORE BROWN

Rx. HE TOOK

279 *Ob.* ·ADMIRAL·VERNON·AND·COMMODORE·BROWN· No line.
Two half lengths vis-à-vis. Both hold batons.

Rx. HE·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY· Line.
Ships 1–2–3. The one to l. has large topsail, 3 to r. Towers at W, T. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739 37 mm. M. I. 101.
Cast in Coll. MS.

279a *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last. Line. Ships 3–3. Upper 3 to l. Two vessels. Steeples at O, W. T. Water lines. *Ex.* Nov. 27 1739 36 mm. Brass. A. N. S.

280 *Ob.* ADMIRAL·VERNON·AND·COMMODORE·BROWN Line.
Two half lengths vis-à-vis. Both hold batons.

Rx. As last.
37 mm. Copper. Betts 256. Fonrobert 8291.

281 *Ob.* ADMIRAL·VERNON·AND·COMMODORE·BROWN· Line.
Two half lengths vis-à-vis. Both hold batons. The periods after N and first M are above heads. *Ex.* Convex shell and 2 large leaves each side.

Rx. HE·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLV·
Ships 2–4. 5 to r. No vessels or boats. Steeples and tower at first L, W, T. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22·1739·/ornament with three stems. 36 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 264. Silvered. M. H. S.

282 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. HE·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY· Line.
Ships 2–1–3. 5 to r. Towers at first L, W, T. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV:22·1739/ornament of three stems. 36 mm. Copper. Betts 265. M. I. 103.

TYPE 24B. HALF LENGTHS.

Ob. OF ADMIRAL VERNON AND COMMODORE BROWN

Rx. PORTO BELLO WAS TAKEN

283 *Ob.* ←OF ← ADMIRAL ← VERNON ← AND ← COMMODORE ←BROWN← No line.
Two half lengths vis-à-vis, each with baton.
Ex. ·BY·THE·COURAGE·/·AND·CONDUCT·

Rx. PORTO·BELLO·WAS·TAKEN·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY·NOV·22·1739←
Ships 1–2–3. The right-hand ship runs into legend. 3 to r. Five small vessels in harbor. Boat with flag outside. Tower and steeples at I, S, and after period following SIX. *Ex.* I·W·FECIT. 37 mm. Brass. Copper. Silvered. Betts 268. M. I. 106.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

284 *Ob.* OF · ADMIRAL · VERNON · AND · COMMODORE · BROWN No line.
Two half lengths.

Rx. As last. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/34.

TYPE 24C. HALF LENGTHS.

Ob. ADMIRAL VERNON AND COMMODORE BROWN

Rx. THE TOOK PORTO BELLO

285 *Ob.* ADMIRAL·VERNON·AND·COMMODORE·BROWN No line.
Two half lengths, vis-à-vis, each with baton.

Rx. THE·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY No line.
Ships 3–3. 3 above to l. Each lower ship directly under the one above. 2 small vessels. Steeple at LO. 2 flags on left fort. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 36 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 252. M. H. S. Coll. MS.

286 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last, but NOV·22·1739 *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/32.

287 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. THE·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY· No line.
Ships 3–3. 3 above to l. Each lower ship is below a gap between the ships and the forts. 2 small vessels. Tower and steeple at BE, LO. One flag on left fort. *Ex.* NOV·22 1739 36 mm. Copper. Betts 253. M. H. S.

288 *Ob.* ADMIRAL VERNON AND COMMODORE BROWN Line.
Two half lengths, vis-à-vis.

Rx. As last.
34 mm. Copper. Betts 254. M. I. 102.

TYPE 24D. HALF LENGTHS.

Ob. ADMIRAL VERNON AND COMMODORE BROWN

Rx. TOOK PORTO BELLO

289 *Ob.* ADMIRAL VERNON AND COMMODORE BROWN
Line.
Two half lengths, vis-à-vis.

Rx. TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY
Line.
Ships 1–2–3. All to r. 2 boats and a vessel in harbor. Steeple at O. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 36 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 255. Fonrobert 8290. White metal.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

290 *Ob.* ADMIRAL · VERNON · AND · COMMODORE · BROWN ·
No line.
Two half lengths, vis-à-vis, each with baton.

Rx. TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY
Ships 1–2–3. 3 to r. Steeples at O, T. 3 boats. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 25 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 257. M. I. 135. M. H. S.

291 *Ob.* ADMIRAL · VERNON · AND · COMMODORE · BROWN ·
No line.
Two half lengths, vis-à-vis, each with baton.

Rx. TOOK · PORTO · BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS · ONLY ·
Positions not given. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 36 mm. Brass. Betts 250.

292 *Ob.* ADMIRAL · VERNON · AND · COMMODORE · BROWN
Line.
Two half lengths, vis-à-vis.

Rx. TOOK *rosette* PORTO *rosette* BELLO *rosette* WITH *rosette* SIX *rosette* SHIPS *rosette* ONLY Line.
Ships 1–2–3. 2 to r. One nearly in harbor. No boats. Steeple at O. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 37 mm. Brass. M. I. 99. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419. Coll. MS.

TYPE 24D–1. HALF LENGTHS.

Ob. ADMIRAL VERNON AND COMMODORE BROWN

Rx. TOOK PORTO BELLO
Ex. BY COURAGE AND CONDUCT

293 *Ob.* ADMIRAL VERNON AND COMMODORE BROWN
No line.
Two half lengths, vis-à-vis.

Rx. TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY
· NOV · 22 · 1739 No line.

Ships 1–2–3. 4 to r. One vessel and one boat. Boat below right fort. Steeples and tower at T and to right of X. No lines. *Ex.* BY COURAGE AND/CONDUCT 33 mm. Brass. Betts 249. Brit. Mus. 6.
Coll. MS.

TYPE 24E. HALF LENGTHS.

Ob. ADMIRAL VERNON AND COMMODORE BROWN

Rx. WHO TOOK PORTO BELLO

294 *Ob.* ADMIRAL VERNON AND COMMODORE BROWN Line.
Two half lengths, vis-à-vis.

Rx. WHO TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY Line.
Ships 1–2–3. All to r. In mouth of harbor a boat with 3 men. Tower at first L. Steeple at WI. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 37 mm. Brass.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

295 *Ob.* ADMIRAL · VERNON · AND · COMMODORE · BROWN No line.
Two half lengths, vis-à-vis, each with baton.

Rx. WHO TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY Line.
Ships 1–2–3. All to r. One small boat. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739 37 mm. Brass. Betts 251. M. I. 100.

296 *Ob.* ADMIRAL · VERNON AND COMMODRE · BROWN Line.
Two half lengths, vis-à-vis, each with baton. N and C above heads. *Ex.* Shell with two large and three small leaves on each side.

Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY ·
Ships 2–4. All to l. Steeples at E, O, T. No boats. *Ex.* NOV · 22 1739/two crossed twigs. 36 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 258.

297 *Ob.* As last, but period after ONLY and first M are above heads.

Rx. WHO · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY
Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Tower and steeples at left of O, W, T. Faint

water lines. Large forts of 10 guns. *Ex.* NOV·22 1739/ ornament of single stem reaching to V. 37 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 259. M. I. 104?.

298 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS ·ONLY Line.
Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Tower and steeples at second L, W, T. No lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739/ Two twigs with crossed stems. 37 mm. Copper.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

299 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS ·ONLY· Line.
Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Tower and steeples at right of O, and at W and T. Faint water lines. Large forts of 14 guns. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739·/ornament of leaves with stems crossed and reaching to O on left. 37 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 260. Brass, silvered in M. H. S. and Coll. MS.

300 *Ob.* ADMIRAL · VERNON · AND · COMMODORE· BROWN Line.
Two half lengths, vis-à-vis, each with baton. *Ex.* Ornament of concave shell with two leaves on each side.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS ·ONLY Line.
Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Steeples at E, second L, W. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 / ornament of twigs with stem not crossed. 37 mm. M. I. 104.
Cast in Coll. MS.

301 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. As last, but tower and steeples at E, second L, and I; and ornament has a single stem. 36 mm. Brass. Coll. MS.

302 *Ob.* ADMIRAL · VERNON · AND · COMMODORE· BROWN Line.
Two half lengths vis-à-vis, each with baton. N and C over heads.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS ·ONLY·
Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Tower and steeples at first L, OW, I. Fort at

left has 14 guns, that at right only 12. Faint water lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739/ Ornament of shell and two leaves. 37 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 261. M. I. 105?.

303 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS ·ONLV

Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Fort at left has 10 guns; that at right has 11. Tower and steeples at E, second L and I. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739/ornament of one stem and four leaves. 37 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 262.

304 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS ·ONLV

Ships 2–4. All to l. No boats. Tower and steeples at E, second L, and W. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739/ornament. All stops are high. 37 mm. Brass. Betts 263.

305 *Ob.* ADMIRAL·VERNON·AND·COMMODRE·BROWN Line.

Two half lengths, vis-à-vis. *Ex.* Convex shell with 2 large and 3 small leaves on each side.

Rx. WHO·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS ·ONLV Line.

Ships 2–1–3. All to l. No boats. Tower and steeples at E, O, T. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739/ Two twigs not crossed. 36 mm. Copper. Coll. MS.

TYPE 24F. HALF LENGTHS.

Ob. ADMIRAL VERNON AND COMMODORE BROWN

Rx. WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY

306 *Ob.* ADMIRAL VERNON AND COMMODORE BROWN No line.

Two half lengths, vis-à-vis, each with baton *Ex.* TOOK PORTO/BELLO

Rx. WITH *rosette* SIX *rosette* SHIPS *rosette* ONLY *rosette* NOV *rosette* 22 *rosette* 1739 No line.

Ships 3–3. First three diagonally to r. 3 boats. Steeples at PS and NI. Land and water lines. 37 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 266. M. I. 97.

M. H. S. Coll. MS.

307 *Ob.* As last.

Rx. WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY NOV 22 1739 No line. Ships 2–4. 5 to r. 3 boats. Towers at S and LY. Water lines. *Ex.* GOD PRESERVE THE/ENGLISH · FLEET 37 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 267. M. I. 98.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

TYPE 25. FULL LENGTHS.

Ob. ADMIRAL VERNON AND COMMODORE BROWN

Rx. HE TOOK PORTO BELLO

308 *Ob.* THE · ADM · L · VERNON : COMR · BROWN · Line. Vernon and Brown. Between them crown over ship.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY Line.
Ships 2–1–3. All to r. *Ex.* NOV · 22 1739 N reversed. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/28.

309 *Ob.* As last, but in exergue :I: GILES

Rx. As last. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/29.

310 *Ob.* ADMIRAL VERNON AND COMMODORE BROWN. Line.
Stops = trefoils. Two full length figures both to l. Each with baton. Cannon to l. Field chased.

Rx. HE TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY Line.
Ships 2–1–3. All to r. 3 vessels in harbor. Towers at L, O, I. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 40 mm. Copper. Betts 248. Brit. Mus. 11. Coll. MS.

311 *Ob.* As last. (HE erased.)

Rx. As last, but steeple at second L. Tower at I. 40 mm. Copper. M. H. S. Coll. MS.

312 *Ob.* AD · VERNON · COMDOR · BROWN
Two full lengths, clasping hands. A crown between them above. Ship below hands. *Ex.* A scroll.

Rx. HE : TOOK : PORTO : BELLO : WITH : SIX : SHIPS : ONLY
Six ships. *Ex.* :NOV 22 1739 Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, 18861.

313 *Ob.* AD · V (*coat*) ERN (*elbow*) ON · (*two heads*) COM (*elbow*) DOR (*coat*) BROWN No line.
N's reversed. Two full lengths, clasping hands. Crown above hands. Ship below hands. *Ex.* A scroll.

Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · Line.
N reversed. Ships 2–1–3. All to r. *Ex.* NOV: 22 · 1739 N not reversed. 27 mm. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/30.

TYPE 26. FULL LENGTHS.

Ob. THE BRITISH GLORY REVIVD

Rx. HE TOOK PORTO BELLO

314 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON · COMR BROWN Line.
Two full lengths, clasping hands. Above hands, a crown. Below hands, a ship sailing to r.

Rx. ✠ HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY Line.
Ships 3–1–3. All to r. 2 boats. Towers at B, LL, I. Three flags on each fort. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 37 mm. Brit. Mus. 82.
Cast in Coll. MS.

315 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D : BY · ADM : L · VERNON : COMR · BROWN ·
Design as last. *Ex.* · I : GILES ·

Rx. As last.
Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, 20003.

TYPE 27. FULL LENGTHS.

Ob. THE PRIDE OF SPAIN

Rx. PORTO BELLO TAKEN

316 *Ob.* ♣ THE · PRIDE · OF · SPAIN ♣ HUMBLED · BY · AD : VERN · N. No line.
Vernon, erect to r., receives with right hand a sword from man on one knee, over whom DON · BLASS. Behind Don Blas stands Brown to l., with baton in right hand. *Ex.* AND · COM : RE · BROWN

Rx. PORTO · BELLO · TAKEN · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · NOV · 22 · 1739 ·
N's reversed. Ships 3–3 diagonally upwards to r. 4 to l. 2 small vessels in mouth of harbor and 5 boats within. Tower and steeple at AL and last N of VERNON. Trees at left. Outer water lines. *Ex.* · : ⁝ I · W ⁝ : · 37 mm. Brass. Betts 308. M. I. 173.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

VERNON, BROWN AND ARGYLL

TYPE 28.

Ob. THE BRITISH GLORY
Rx. THE GENEROUS DUKE

317 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADM · L · VERNON : COMR · BROWN
Two full lengths, clasping hands with crown over hands and ship below.

Rx. · THE · GENEROUSE : DUKE : OF : ARGYLE *rosette* ... Full length to r., leaning on pillar on which coronet. Trophy behind. *Ex.* NO · · PENTIONER in label. 38 mm. Betts 247. Schulman, 1904, Feb., p. 719.

VERNON, BROWN AND WALPOLE

TYPE 29.

Ob. THE BRITISH GLORY
Rx. MAKE ROOM FOR

318 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D : BY · ADML : VERNON : COMR · BROWN Line.
Two full lengths, clasping hands. Crown above hands and ship below.

Rx. MAKE ROOM FOR SIR ROBERT · *quatrefoil* o Line.
Devil leading Walpole by halter into mouth of monster. Legend is on label coming from Devil's mouth. *Ex.* NO : EXCISE 37 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 246. M. I. 191.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

VERNON AND HADDOCK

"Admiral Haddock was stationed with a fleet in the Mediterranean to prevent the junction of the French and Spanish fleets, in which object he was twice unsuccessful. It was very extensively believed that his instructions restricted him from activity, and these satirical medals were one of the modes of expressing the popular dissatisfaction." *Medallic Illustrations.*

TYPE 30.

319 *Ob.* ADM[l] VERNON TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY Line.
Full length to l. Right hand points at fort; baton in left. In field to r., FORT/CHAGRE, below which a fort. To right a ship sailing to l. Water lines. *Ex.* NOV 22 1739

Rx. ADM[l] H——K TOOK O WITH SEVERAL SHIPS ONLY. Line.
Full length to l., with hat, standing on platform. A cannon to r., upon which he rests

his left hand. Right hand points to fort at left. To right a ship sailing to r. The sea between fort and ship. Exergue vacant. 26 mm. Brass. Betts 295. M. I. 182.
M. H. S.

320 *Ob.* As reverse of last. ADM[1] H——
Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY · ·
Ships 3–3. 3 above to l. 2 small vessels and one boat. Steeples and tower at O, W, H. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739. 36 mm. Brass. Betts 296, M. I. 183, Fonrobert 8276. Coll. MS.

321 *Ob.* As last (ADM[1] H——K TOOK O WITH)
Rx. HE · TOOK · PORTO · BELLO · WITH · SIX · SHIPS · ONLY. Line.
Ships 3–3. Upper 3 to l. Steeple at W. Tower at TH. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV · 22 · 1739 36 mm. Copper.
Coll. MS.

VERNON AND SIR CHALONER OGLE

In January, 1741, Vernon was largely reinforced by a fleet under Sir Chaloner Ogle, who took part with him in the partial success at Cartagena.

TYPE 31A. *Ob.* THE BRITISH GLORY
Rx. AD VERNON GEN OGLE TOOK CARTHAGENA

322 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH : GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL : VERNON Line.
N's reversed. Full length to l., on platform. Baton in r. To left a cannon. To r. an anchor.
Rx. AD · VERNON · GEN[l] · OGLE · TOOK · CARTHAGENA · BY · SEA · AND · LAND · Line.
Large fort to right. To left of it a large ship, and four small ones to r. 5 small ships in harbor. Water lines. *Ex.* AP[L] : I : 174 : I. 37 mm. Brass. Betts. 331. M. I. 157.
Coll. MS.

323 *Ob.* As last.
Rx. As last, but ADM[l] OGLE
Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, 107611.

324 *Ob.* As last.
Rx. AD · VERNON · ADM[l] · OGLE TOOK CARTHAGENA BY · SEA AND LAND
Ship to l., and four smaller ones to r. 2 small

vessels and boat in harbor. *Ex.* AP·1:174:1. Salbach 127, Hess (Ulex sale), 2697. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 419/38. This is probably the same as the last one described.

TYPE 31B. *Ob.* ADMIRAL VERNON AND SR CHALONER OGLE

Rx. BY BRITISH COURAGE TOOK CARTHAGENA

325 *Ob.* ADMIRAL VERNON AND S^{R} CHALONER OGLE 6 ornaments. Line.
Two full lengths facing each other, each with baton and extended hand. *Ex.* Concave shell with two leaves each side.

Rx. BY BRITISH COURAGE TOOK CARTHAGENA APRIL 1741. Line.
Two ships entering harbor. Within chain-boom, a boat with 3 men. No DON BLASS. Ornaments complete circle of legend. 37 mm. Brass. Betts 320. M. I. 162. City in curved line. M. H. S. Coll. MS.

326 *Ob.* ADMIRAL VERNON AND S^{R} CHALONER OGLE· "with ornaments after OGLE." (*Betts.*)
As last.

Rx. BY BRITISH COURAGE TOOK CARTHAGENA APRIL 1741
Two ships entering harbor. Within chain-boom a boat with man, over which DON BLASS. City in straight line. Flagstaff at E. Coast line at B and T. 36 mm. Brass. Betts 321.

TYPE 31C. *Ob.* ADM VERNON AND S^{R} CHALONER OGLE TOOK

Rx. SPANISH INSOLENCE CORRECTED

327 *Ob.* ADM VERNON AND SR CHALONER OGLE TOOK CARTHAGENA. No line.
Two full lengths, facing each other. *Ex.* 1741

Rx. SPANISH INSOLENCE CORRECTED BY ENGLISH BRAVERY No line.
Three ships approaching harbor. Two more in outer harbor. Within chain-boom, a boat over which DON/BLASS 37 mm. Brass. Betts 322. *Am. Jour. Num.*, II. 49/29.
M. H. S.

TYPE 31D. *Ob.* THE PRIDE OF SPAIN

Rx. THEY TOOK CARTHAGENA

328 *Ob.* THE · PRIDE · OF · SPAIN ♣ HUMBLED · BY · AD· VERNON No line.
Vernon, erect to r., receives sword from man

on one knee, over whom DON BLASS. To right stands Ogle facing to l. *Ex.* AND S^{R} CHAL/OGLE

Rx. THEY TOOK CARTHAGENA APRIL 1741 Line. Two ships to r., approaching gut. Within chain-boom, a boat with man, over which DON/BLASS City in straight line. Tower at right between AA. Other towers at CA and A. 37 mm. Brass. Silvered. Betts 323, M. I. 172, Fonrobert 8189.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

TYPE 31E. *Ob.* ADMl VERNON AND SR CHALONER OGLE

Rx. TOOK CARTHAGENA

329 *Ob.* ADM^{L} VERNON AND S^{R} CHALONER OGLE. Line. Two full lengths, vis-à-vis, each with baton. *Ex.* WE LOOK FOR/DON BLASS

Rx. TOOK CARTHAGENA APRIL 1741. Line. Two ships to r., and two boats. Within chain-boom, a boat with man, over which DON/BLASS. City in straight line. Flagstaff at N. Coast line at T, and first 1 of date. Outer water lines. 37 mm. Brass. Lead. Betts 324, M. I. 160, Fonrobert 8187.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

TYPE 31F. *Ob.* ADMIRAL VERNON AND SR CHALONER OGLE

Rx. TRUE BRITISH HEROES TOOK CARTHAGENA

330 *Ob.* * ADMIRAL · VERNON · AND · S^{R} · CHALONER · OGLE Line.
Two full lengths vis-à-vis. Each has baton. *Ex.* Concave shell with leaf each side.

Rx. TRUE BRITISH HEROES TOOK CARTHAGENA. Line.
Two ships to r. Both point up. Under fort to r., a boat with man. Ship to r., inside chain-boom. City in straight line. Flagstaff at O. Coast lines at U and H. *Ex.* APRIL 1741 36 mm. Brass. Betts 318, M. I. 161, Fonrobert 8188. M. H. S. Coll. MS.

331 *Ob.* ADMIRAL VERNON AND S^{R} CHALONER OGLE. Line.
Two full lengths, vis-à-vis, each with baton. Scabbards at D and E. *Ex.* Concave shell, with leaf each side.

Rx. TRUE BRITISH HEROES TOOK CARTHAGENA Line.

Two ships approaching fort, bows pointing down. Within chain-boom, a boat with man, over which DON/BLASS City in straight line. Flagstaff at E. Steeple at second O. Coast line at B and T. *Ex.* APRIL 1741 37 mm. Brass. Betts 319. Brit. Mus. 3.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

VERNON, OGLE AND WENTWORTH

Wentworth had 12,000 soldiers at Cartagena.

TYPE 32. 332 *Ob.* Vernon erect, facing on platform between Ogle and Wentworth. At each side of his feet on ground, a small lion facing to l. No line. *Ex.* BRAVE:VERNON:OGLE:/& WENTWORTH

Rx. *Butterfly* HE·TOOK·PORTO·BELLO·WITH·SIX·SHIPS·ONLY Line.
Ships 1–2–3. All to r. Boat below right fort with man. No boats in harbor. Tower and steeples at second L and WI. Outer water lines. *Ex.* NOV·22·1739 37 mm. Brass. Copper. Betts 309, M. I. 175.
M. H. S. Coll. MS.

333 *Ob.* BRAVE:ADM:L:VERNON:OGLE &·WINTWORTH Vernon erect, on platform, facing between Ogle in coat on left, and Wentworth with lance, on right. Cannon at right. On each side of Vernon a small lion, facing to l. Ornament between platform and exergue. *Ex.* T·GILES

Rx. TRUE BRITISH HEROES TOOK CARTHAGENA
Two ships. Two forts in middle, connected by chainboom, within which a boat with man over which DON/BLASS. City in straight line. Flagstaff at E. Coast at B and T. *Ex.* APRIL 1741 37 mm. Brass. Betts 316.

334 *Ob.* Vernon erect, facing between Ogle and Wentworth with lance. Two small lions at his feet, facing to l. *Ex.* BRAVE:VERNON:OGLE/& WENTWORTH

Rx. VERNON:CONQUERD:CARTHAGENA No line.
Four ships sailing to r. towards entrance of harbor. City on hill to l. Leaf ornament separates exergue. *Ex.* APRIL 1:1741 37

mm. Brass. Betts 310, M. I. 174, Fonrobert 8190. M. H. S. Coll. MS.

335 *Ob.* BRAVE:ADM:L:VERNON:OGLE &·WINTWORTH
Vernon with hat and baton erect on platform between Ogle with hat under arm, and Wentworth in armor, with lance. Cannon behind W. Small lion on ground at extreme r. and l. *Ex.* Ornament of lion's head and leaves/ T·GILES (or I·GILES)

Rx. WHO:CONQUERD:CARTHAGENA, on label.
Six ships 1–5. All to r. City on hill to l. Flagstaffs at D, R, A, E. *Ex.* APRIL 1 1741 Scroll ornament over date. 37 mm. Betts 312. Coll. MS.

336 *Ob.* AD·VERNON:·AD·OGLE:·AND:·GEN·WENTWORTH:· Line.
Three figures erect touching each other. Above, Fame to left. To left a banner. To right a ship, stern-to.

Rx. WHO TOOK CARTHAGENA Line.
Four ships outside harbor in line, three to r. Inside, three ships bombarding the town. Soldiers and cannon on point of land at entrance. *Ex.* APRILL 1741 38 mm. Brass. Betts 311. M. I. 176. M. H. S.

337 *Ob.* AD·VERNON·AD·OGLE:GE·WENTWORTH
Line.
Three figures erect touching each other. Above, Fame to right, with three wreaths in right hand. To left a ship sailing to right.

Rx. As last.
39 mm. Brass. M. H. S.

VERNON AND WALPOLE

TYPE 33. 338 *Ob.* THE·BRITISH·GLORY·REVIV·D·BY·ADMIRAL·VERNON··· Line.
N's reversed. Vernon with sword and baton erect to r. on solid platform. To left, a ship sailing to r. over 3 trees. To r., a cannon.

Rx. MAKE:ROOM:FOR: SIR: ROBERT on label issuing from mouth of Devil, who leads Sir Robert Walpole into mouth of monster. *Ex.* NO:EXCISE After label is o *rosette* o. 30 mm. Brass. Betts 242. M. H. S.

339 *Ob.* THE · BRITISH · GLORY · REVIV · D · BY · ADMIRAL · VERNON ·
Full length ¾ to right, wearing hat and holding sword and baton. Cannon to r. Fort to l.
Rx. As last, but NO EXCISE
30 mm. Copper. Betts 243. M. I. 192.

The Boston Fire, 1872.

Mr. Norcross then said: In behalf of Otis Norcross and myself I have deposited with the Society the Records of the Summer Street Fire Committee, beginning with the meeting at Mayor Gaston's office in City Hall, on Sunday, November 10, 1872, before the fire had been brought under control, and ending with the transfer of the remainder of the fund, June 2, 1906, under act of the Legislature and decree of the Supreme Judicial Court, to the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, which now administers the fund.

At the end the Committee consisted of Marquis F. Dickinson, who was President of the Common Council in the year of the great fire, and the sole survivor of the original Committee, Otis Norcross, Dr. Francis H. Brown, Grenville H. Norcross and William H. Hart.

We also deposit a memorandum book, mostly in the handwriting of my father, Otis Norcross — the first treasurer of the Relief Fund — containing a list of the contributors to the Fund and the sums given. My brother and I, as the surviving members of the Committee, place these records here for preservation.

The Trinity Historical Society.

Dr. Farlow exhibited some letters, with photographs of the writers, which came from a very large collection made by Benjamin W. Austin, of Dallas, Texas, who described himself as the "Secretary" of the Trinity Historical Society of that place. No true historical society of the name ever existed in Dallas, and for years Austin consulted biographical dictionaries and like sources of names and reputation, elected the notable "honorary" members of this "Society" and asked for a photograph and published writings. As a collection of au-

tographs the result was more remarkable for the size than for the content, and it was scattered at auction in recent years.

A Ghost Book.

Mr. Ford said: In the *Catalogue* of the library of this Society issued in 1859 is to be found the following item:

[Hows, E.] Of the Circumference of the Earth; or A Treatise of the Northeast [west] Passage. [With Manuscript Address of the Author to John Winthrop, "the Yonger."] 16mo, pp. 26. London, 1632.

The item was more fully described in the first volume of the Winthrop papers,[1] edited by Robert C. Winthrop, Charles Deane and Chandler Robbins, and was copied in Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America*. The introduction is dedicated in manuscript to John Winthrop and is signed by E. Hows. At first blush nothing could be more clear than that Hows was the writer of the book. He had sent it to Winthrop in a letter dated November 23, 1632. Here was a precious volume, by an unknown author, of which only one copy was in existence — that in the library of this Society. No collector of Americana would but feel envious of such a possession.

A question about the book recently came from Mr. George Watson Cole, the cataloguer of the Huntington library. He stated that it was not by Hows but by Sir Dudley Digges, and asked me to see if the date should not be 1611 or 1612, in each of which years an issue was made. A mere glance at the title-page served to show that 1612 was the correct date. Hows had written in his dedication and signature and had cleverly changed with his pen the figure 1 into a 3 on the title-page, so as to give 1632, the year of his letter. Thus this unique edition proves to be a faked edition, still rare, still interesting for its association with Winthrop, but not at all what it has been held to be. As the error began in the Society, it is only right that the correction should come from the same source.

[1] 4 *Collections*, VI. 480 *n*.

FRANCIS BARBOUR[1] TO LUCY ELISABETH BARBOUR.

NEW YORK, June 29th, 1834.

DEAR LUCY, — I am much obliged to you for your two letters, but am very sorry for the death [of] old Sprightly. He has been a worthy old servant in our family and Father will have hard work to supply his place. He ought to have a monument erected to his memory down in his pasture, and Alvin ought to spend his leisure hours in building one.

The Gorham parade must have been overwhelming when they marched forth in all the "pride pomp and circumstance of glorious war," as Othello says. Perhaps you would like to hear something about the military here. Well what should you say on seeing 6000 soldiers, all with mighty fine uniforms, and one company all dressed alike of *600*, which are the National Guards. You would have been pleased last Thursday to see the parade in honour of Lafayette.[2] First came the soldiers, about five or six thousand, some with red coats, some blue, black, grey, indeed almost all the colours of the rainbow, with their guns slung behind and marching to solemn music. Next came all the great folks, as usual, on such occasions — clergy, army and navy officers etc. Then all the fire companies with appropriate badges, and a multitude of them there were. Then came the trades union, or societies of mechanics of all kinds, with their banners and mottoes. The procession was nearly three miles long, and as they marched along every window was filled with heads, and every elevated place and roof was crowded with people determined to see. It was a great show, but there was nothing solemn or impressive about it. The soldiers were tired with drilling, and so were the musicians; besides they all received a thorough soaking from a smart shower just before the procession formed. The spectators were tired with waiting, so that on the whole it was rather tiresome to all. However after they arrived at the Battery and left the more patient part, to listen to the address — then they struck up some lively tunes and marched away in great style, making Broadway all alive. I suppose you will have some fine amusement for the fourth of July. If I can leave the city and get rid of the dust and noise, I shall avail myself of the opportunity. I do not know that I shall have a chance, but if a steam boat will carry me to West Point and back for half a dollar I shall certainly go — otherwise I will go to Hoboken, where I am as much in the country as you are at Gorham,

[1] (*c.* 1811–1839), described as a poet and artist. He was a graduate of Bowdoin College, 1830.

[2] Lafayette died May 20, 1834.

although within five minutes sail of the crowded, dusty city. I can go there and back for a shilling or what we down-easters call ninepence; besides there are some beautiful places of resort in the city as Niblo's, Vauxhall and New-York gardens. The country surrounding N. York is not so pleasant nor well cultivated as it is around Boston. The people are too much occupied in the great business of making money, to spend much on what is ornamental. I forgot to tell you of Rockaway, which is a large beach on Long Island, where pic-nic parties resort in very much the same fashion as they do at Proutsneck, except I think they do not enjoy themselves so well. I wish you could see the harbour here, in a fine day. You would be amused to see the steamboats of all sorts and sizes skimming about in every direction, crossing one another's paths every minute beside ships of all nations coming and going. The bay is said to be one of the most beautiful in the world. If ever you come to N. Y. it will take you a long while to see it all. You will walk and walk, up one street until you despair of finding the end, and from street to street until you would give up through fatigue. I do not think I have been through more than half the city and am constantly finding some new place which I never saw before. They are continually laying out new squares, and the population is increasing with great rapidity. I should carry you down to the Battery which is a beautiful public promenade laid out in walks and shaded with trees. It is generally filled with people to enjoy the cool breeze which can most always be felt there. It is not however equal to Boston common although the situation is much finer. Then there is South Street where the largest merchants are, where are ships from the four quarters of the globe — if you can pass through here without getting a broken neck you are very fortunate. Here are merchants and carts, sailors and Irishmen, negroes and lumber of all sorts, the ruins of stores being pulled down, and every variety of goods that the world affords coming from the ships. Wall Street may be called the heart of the city and of course of the country. You would be astonished to see the crowds passing to and from their business. About three o'clock the merchants go upon Change, that is they all meet at the exchange to transact business, make bargains etc. The exchange is a very fine building containing the post-office and a great many other offices. The room where the merchants meet is very large and very imposing.

Well when I leave the Exchange to go up Wall Street I am obliged to keep a sharp look out to prevent being run over by the Broadway stages or omnibuses which are continually running at a furious rate. They are different from our stages, being very large and handsome with the door behind. Broadway is made up of all kinds of people,

every kind of retail business I believe may be found there, and in some parts very fine houses. It is probably the finest street in the country, and is one of the most lively, it being the most pleasant and direct communication from the upper to the lower part of the town and is moreover a fashionable place, which you know, of course, must decide the matter. The finest dwelling houses are at the Battery, St. John's park, Washington square, Lafayette place, Bleecker and Bond streets.

Some of these are truly magnificent, especially Waverly, and Lafayette place, which are princely, more splendid than any dwelling houses I ever saw or ever expected to see. It is very foolish I think to spend so much money. Lafayette place proved an unfortunate speculation, it was too costly a concern even for N. York, and although it has been built for more than a year, the houses are not let yet, excepting two or three.

There is the Bowery and Hudson streets, fine wide and long streets, which are sort of second rate Broadways, all kinds of shops and goods, at a cheaper rate and thronged with peoples, who you will find are not dressed with as much care and taste as the Broadway loungers. If I had time I could tell you of a thousand more, and of the City Hall and City Hotel, and Holt's Castle as they call it, St. Paul, St. Thomas and a multitude of churches, but in the classical language of Grumio in the "Taming of the Shrew" "they must die in oblivion." Perhaps some idea of the literary men here would please you as much as anything. There are in New York Messrs Washington Irving, J. F. Cooper, Paulding, Halleck, Bryant, Leggett, John H. Payne. Mr. Cooper has lately engaged in politics, endeavouring to uphold Jacksonism, which is in peculairly bad repute just at this time. I think he had better continue in fiction, for there I think has more reality and more nature than in treating of politics. Mr. Bryant too, one of [the] most beautiful writers of poetry in any country, indeed I think his piece entitled Thanatopsis cannot be equalled, yet he is the editor of the principal Jackson paper, in the city, debasing his fine mind by writing political squibs, and trying to make the false appear the better side in the important matters relating to the country. You must excuse bad writing, for somehow or other I have lost the art of writing with any kind of grace. My hand is growing worse and worse every day.

You may tell Father and Mother[1] that I am at work merrily, have got a lot of pictures which without doubt will bring me something handsome, and I am continually multiplying them. I have also completed a portrait of Mrs. Healy, the lady of the house, in

[1] Joseph Barbour and Judith Stevens, a second wife, and therefore the stepmother of the writer.

which as usual I succeeded much better than I expected. The family seem perfectly satisfied with the likeness, and every body who is acquainted with her, on looking at the picture hold up their hands and cry out, "Did you ever!" It will in all probability procure me more business after it is hung up in the sitting room. I have worked hitherto in my own chamber, and shall continue to do so for the present. You must write me a long letter by Mr. Storer,[1] and tell me particularly about Mother's health. Mrs. Hunt's family are well. Elizabeth complains of a want of acquaintances — she is all alone now — but when she goes to school she will find enough.

The Storers are all well. You must remember me to the family in Gorham. Tell Fred Stephenson and Col. Hugh McLellan to write, as they have more time than I have. How does Ellen Gerrish do, and Hannah Pomeroy[2] and all the rest of your acquaintance, and how do you like the academy this summer? Tell mother I will save the picture tickets for her [if] I sell any in that way. When I go home I think [I] shall hang the walls with something or other, that will perhaps eclipse the old ones. I want to have an opportunity to paint from Nature, and shall scout the country when I go to Gorham, for I mean to have something worth showing in a New York gallery before a great while. I could exhibit a portrait or two now, but the exhibitions are crowded with them already and I have no great affection for that branch of the art except the pay. Good-bye.

FRANK.

[Addressed] Miss Lucy Elisabeth Barbour, Gorham. [Per] Col. Stephenson.[3]

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. THAYER, WENDELL and RHODES.

[1] Ebenezer Storer, of Wells, (1758–1846) who removed from Portland to New York, and thence to Gorham, Me.

[2] Daughter of Rev. Thaddeus Pomeroy and Catharine Pearson.

[3] From the original in the Preble collection, in the Society.

MAY MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the first Vice-President, Mr. WARREN, in the absence of the President, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported that the Library had received the gift in memory of Kingsmill Marrs of a collection of works, mostly English county, family, and general histories, from Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs (Laura Norcross Marrs). With these volumes there is a signed copy of David Hartley's "Letters on the American War" (London, 1778), second edition. The book bears the autograph signatures of "Titus Hibbert," of "S. Hibbert Ware," and of "J. Wingate Thornton, 1858, and the bookplate of Mr. Marrs."

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, a photograph of the Gunther portrait of Columbus painted in 1542 by Sir Antonio Moro from two miniatures in the palace of Pardoe; also a photograph of Mrs. Julia Caroline Ripley Dorr, taken at Maitland, Florida, about 1904, by William Wilson-Barker.

From Baldwin Coolidge, eleven photographs of the memorial statue of Loammi Baldwin at North Woburn, and one of the Baldwin mansion there, taken by Mr. Coolidge; also a collection of medals.

From Dr. Farlow, a photograph of the Boston Medical Library, May 3, 1919, taken by Robert H. Pearman.

From the Bostonian Society, a lithograph of William Wirt by Pendleton, from a painting by H. Inman, published by John Marsh, 84 Washington Street, Boston.

From Francis Henry Appleton, a bronze badge for over-seas service presented April 24, 1919, by the Veteran Association Independent Corps Cadets, 1917–1919, to every past and present member of the 101st Regiment United States Engineers.

From Mr. Norcross, a bronze medal struck in France in honor of Clemenceau, designed by F. Gilbault, 1918; also a collection of English, French and Italian war posters and postal cards, three pieces of French war money issued in Nancy, and eleven American hard-time tokens.

From Mr. Thayer, a silver-gilt token, issued by the New England Italian War Relief Committee, for sale by the Galli-Curci Concert at the Boston Opera House, on June 9, 1917, designed from a drawing by John S. Sargent, to illustrate a story called "Nedda." Mrs. Lewis Niles Roberts was the model.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Robert Gould Shaw accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society, and one from Max Farrand accepting his election as a Corresponding Member.

The Editor reported the following gifts:

From Katherine B. Harris (Mrs. Edward Doubleday Harris), fourteen MS. volumes of transcripts from town records and epitaphs, made by the late Mr. Harris and constituting in form and in contents a unique compilation. Written in the almost engrossing hand, and with a special design, sometimes in colors, of title-page, the volumes bear witness to the taste and patient labors of Mr. Harris in his leisure moments from an exacting profession. The volumes contain: Records of the first Church, Cambridge; Births, Marriages and Deaths in Cambridge; Records of Lexington and Waltham; Lexington Epitaphs; Records of Medford and Arlington; Medford Epitaphs; Records of Newton, Brighton and Brookline; Newton Epitaphs; Records of Woburn; Jackson, Jefferson and Lancaster (N. H.) Epitaphs; Fitzwilliam (N. H.) Epitaphs; Meriden (N. H.) Epitaphs; Starr King (Jefferson, N. H.) Epitaphs; and Washington (Conn.) Epitaphs. Also some hundreds of papers of the Dolbeare family of Massachusetts, consisting of early deeds, merchant books, journals, bills, commercial and family correspondence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Of particular interest are the daily entries in the diaries and a mass of papers on ships and prizes during the French war (1755–1763) and the War of Independence.

From Dr. Edward Hickling Bradford, a series of eight volumes containing the records of voyages made by his father, Charles F. Bradford, as supercargo of the brig *John Gilpin*, from China and Manila to the west coast of South America in the early part of the nineteenth century, on account of the house of Thomas Handasyd

Perkins & Company, of Boston. Not only do they contain the details of shipments and sales, but also an examination of the wants in China goods of the South American markets, with samples of the silks and cloths. Also a volume of calculations of the foreign exchanges in 1825.

From the estate of Sarah T. (Mayo) Kingman a collection of eighty-three deeds, chiefly of the Mayo family, of property in Harwich, Eastham and Orleans, from 1693 to 1834. Among the grantors is an Indian, John Tom (1715), of Harwich. This collection is composed of papers received from the possession of Alice H. Marrs, Stanley W. Smith and John H. Paine.

From Mrs. James Goldthwaite Freeman and Miss Case, the Day Book of Thomas Blake (1786–1799); Master James B. Case's Manuscript Arithmetic, 1841, in Mr. Ainsworth's school, Providence, Rhode Island; a dance card of the ball in honor of the Prince of Wales, October 18, 1860, in Boston; the Order of Exercises at the Unitarian Festival, Faneuil Hall, May 27, 1856, and other papers.

From Baldwin Coolidge, notes of his great-grandfather, Col. Loammi Baldwin, on the transit of Mercury, November 12, 1782.

From Charles F. Jenkins, an account of sale of hay, 1755, by Francis Brinley, paid, in part, by a hogshead of claret.

From Dr. Frederick Cheever Shattuck, three account books of a sugar house in Boston, owned by William Downes Cheever and Caleb Davis, 1774–1796; and two account books kept by Dr. George Cheyne Shattuck of his practice, 1839 to 1849.

Albert J. Beveridge, of Indianapolis, Indiana, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Mr. LORD presented and read extracts from the will and codicil of the late Robert A. Boit, making bequests to the Society, under certain conditions, all of which are specified in the following vote which was unanimously passed:

Voted, That the Massachusetts Historical Society accepts the devise to it by the late Robert A. Boit in the first clause of his will of the journals and log books of his grandfather, John Boit, and also all his own journals and diaries; and the said Society agrees and stipulates that nothing in the journals and diaries of the said Robert A. Boit shall be open to inspection, either public or private, or published before the expiration of fifty years after his decease.

Professor MOORE read the following paper on

JUDAH MONIS.

Judah Monis, the first Jew to receive the degree of Master of Arts from Harvard College, the first instructor appointed in the College particularly to teach Hebrew,[1] and the author of the first Hebrew grammar published in America,[2] has in recent years received a good deal of attention from Jewish investigators, diligent to gather all that can be known about the early history of their people on this continent. The *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* contain several articles which have to do with him along with others,[3] and in 1914, Mr. Lee M. Friedman, a graduate of Harvard College and Law School, brought together what had been ascertained by his predecessors, together with much new documentary matter, chiefly extracted from the college books, county records, and the state archives.[4] The finding in the Harvard College Library of a cabalistic manuscript that belonged to Monis and is in part in his handwriting gave me occasion to go over the ground again, and to pursue the investigation further in certain directions. These inquiries have brought to light some new facts, and led to a probable solution of the question of Monis's name and extraction.

The date of Monis's birth given in the books, February 4, 1683, is obtained by a simple computation from the inscription on his tombstone[5] that he departed this life, April 25, 1764,

[1] Hebrew had been an obligatory study from the foundation of the College. In the beginning it was taught by the presidents, some of whom, like Chauncy, had a great reputation as Hebraists. At the time when Monis appeared on the scene, the instruction in Hebrew was committed to the class tutors.

[2] Printed by Jonas Green in 1735, and "sold by the author at his house in Cambridge."

[3] Leon Hühner, "The Jews in New England prior to 1800." No. 11 (1903), pp. 80 f.; "Jews in Connection with the Colleges of the Thirteen Original States prior to 1800." No. 19 (1910), pp. 108 ff.; Joseph Lebowich, "The Jews in Boston till 1875." No. 12 (1904), pp. 102 ff.

[4] "Judah Monis, First Instructor in Hebrew at Harvard University." *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 22 (1914), pp. 1–24. Of previous contributions especial mention should be made of two articles by Dr. George Alexander Kohut in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, XIV. 217–226 (1898), and XV. 56 f. (1898).

[5] *Infra*, p. 300.

aged eighty-one years, two months, and twenty-one days. Since the epitaph was doubtless prepared by his brother-in-law, the Reverend John Martyn, with whom he had been intimate for many years, and in whose house in Northborough he lived after resigning his instructorship in the College in 1760, the testimony is doubtless as trustworthy as Monis's own knowledge of his nativity. About the place of his birth there is no similar evidence. According to Hannah Adams in her *History of the Jews:*[1] "He is stated to have been a native of Algiers, who probably received his education in Italy." Peirce[2] speaks more indefinitely: "Mr. Judah Monis, a Jewish Rabbi, who was born in Italy, or one of the Barbary states, came to America in an early period of life, and about the year 1720 began to instruct in Hebrew." We are left, therefore, to what can be learned in other ways.

The name Monis is extremely rare among Jews. Indeed, until recently it was thought to be unique, and it has even been suggested that it might be an anagram for Simon. In 1898, however, Dr. George Alexander Kohut published in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (XV. 52 f.), from a manuscript in his hands, two Hebrew epitaphs from Venice in which the name occurs. One of them, of the year corresponding to 1642 A. D., is that of Esther, wife of Jacob Monis (מונם); the other, of 1644, is from the tombstone of Abraham Monish (מוניש). In view of the singularity of the name, it is not improbable that Judah Monis was related to this family.

In answer to an inquiry, my colleague Prof. J. D. M. Ford informs me that Monis, or Moniz,[3] as it is more often written, is a not uncommon Portuguese name. Egas Moniz, a famous Portuguese patriot of the days of Affonso I in the twelfth century, is celebrated by Camoens in the *Lusiadas;* Egas Moniz Coelho was a poet of the later fourteenth century;

[1] London, 1818, Vol. II, 211.

[2] *History of Harvard University*, 1833, 232.

[3] Professor Ford remarks that, since the end of the fifteenth century, final *s* and *z* in Portuguese have denoted the same sound, which has come to be the voiceless sibilant, *sh*, corresponding to the customary pronunciation of the Hebrew *shin*. This would explain the fact that on the epitaphs above cited the last letter in one is *s*, and in the other *sh*, the former representing the spelling, Monis, the latter the pronunciation. Judah Monis wrote his name מוניש.

and a distinguished Brazilian statesman of the nineteenth century was A. Moniz da Silva Ferraz.

It can hardly be doubted, therefore, that Judah Monis was descended from a Portuguese Marano[1] family which had emigrated from the Peninsula in the sixteenth century. Some of these refugees from persecution sought the security of Moslem countries, especially in Algiers, and in Turkey, where they formed considerable and permanent colonies in Constantinople and Salonica; while others found new homes in the Italian cities and in Holland, and once out of the clutches of their oppressors, reverted to the religion of their fathers. In Venice, where they received special privileges and were protected from the Inquisition, they took an active part in the flourishing commerce of the city.[2] They had also a large share in the rising prosperity of Leghorn, where the Jewish community was for a time the foremost in Italy in wealth and learning. We find them also in Bologna, Milan, Florence, Naples, and even in Rome.

Everything that is discoverable about Judah Monis points to Italy. In the report of the ceremonies at his baptism in the *New England Courant*, we are told, ultimately, no doubt, upon his own authority, that he had "commenced *Mashkil Venabon*, in the Jewish Academies of Leghorn and Amsterdam." The title, *Maskil*, conferred on rabbinical students, was used chiefly in Italy, and especially in Tuscany, to indicate a stage of proficiency inferior to the rabbinical title, *hakam*. In the preface to his *Hebrew Grammar*, Monis acknowledges his indebtedness, as every grammarian must, to David Kimchi, and, besides him, to two more recent Italian grammars by Rabbi Archivolty[3] and Rabbi Templo,[4] neither of which works seems to have had considerable currency outside of Italy. The pronunciation of Hebrew that is disguised beneath the monstrous system of transliteration for English-speaking students[5] which makes Hebrew look like the speech of the lost Ten Tribes whom so

[1] The opprobrious name given by the Spaniards to Jews who professed Christianity under compulsion.

[2] "The Merchant of Venice" will occur to the reader.

[3] *Arugath ha-Boshem.*

[4] *Reshith Hokmah.*

[5] For example, *Wauikrau Pela Vognetz ale Guibor Aubee gnaud saur Shaulome.*

many New England theologians recognized in the American Indians, is unmistakably that of the Italian Jews of his time. On the other hand, in his *Discourse* and *Essays*, Monis shows a familiarity with the writings of authors who lived and taught in Amsterdam and with books published in that city which would accord well with the statement that he had studied there also. Of his residence in Jamaica no record has hitherto been found, but in view of the commercial relations of the island, it is entirely probable.

Monis had been in America some time before his appearance in Boston. On February 28, 1715/6, he was admitted a freeman in the Mayor's court of New York City. In the volume of *Collections* of the New York Historical Society entitled "Burghers and Freemen of New York" (1885), his name appears as Judah *Morris*, and it is so reprinted among the names of Jews excerpted from these lists by Mr. Max J. Kohler in the *Publications of the Jewish Historical Society*, No. 6. Inspection of the original record, now in the City Clerk's office, by Samuel Oppenheim, Esq., of New York, to whom I am indebted for these facts, showed that the name was plainly written *Monis*. Mr. Oppenheim has been so kind as to procure for me the transcript of this record which follows:

City of
New York ss.

At a Court of Record held at the City Hall of the said City on Tuesday the 28th Day of February Anno Dom 1715

Present

John Johnston Esq^{r} Mayor
David Jamison Esq^{r} Recorder

Jacobus Kip
John Cruger Esq^{rs} Aldermen
Johannes Jansen

Court Opened

. . . . . .

Abraham Peirara Tallow Chandler Judah Monis Merch^{t} Richard Bishop Barber Surgeon James Padwick Baker & Thomas Ingram Cooper were admitted & Sworn Freemen of this Corporation.

The Court adjourned till Tuesday next at ten o'clock in the morning.[1]

For his "freedom" and the rights and privileges that went with it, Monis, in his quality of merchant, paid to the Corporation one pound.[2] An interesting page in the city accounts, of which Mr. Oppenheim has furnished me a photostat copy, attests this fact, and also shows where the money went.

New York Anno 1716, 29 Sept.

City of New York D^r to City Cash &^c £6.15.1½ for a Warrent No. 143, to Samuell Bayard for a Bonfire & Wyn &^c on the first Day of August Last being the Anniversary Day of his Maj^tis Assestion to the Crowne £6.15.1½

14 Octob.^r

City Cash in the hands of Samuell Bayard City Treasurer D^r to Lycences & free Doms for the City use, £18.8 being for the freedoms from 14th Octo^b 1715 to this Day.

Abraham Pereira Tallow Chandler . . . . . —6.—
Judah Monis Merch^t. . . . . 1.——
Richard Bishop Barber Surgeon . . . . . —6.—
James Padwick Baker . . . . . —6.—[3]

In accordance with the eternal fitness of things, it may be assumed that the bonfire was for the entertainment of the populace, the "Wyn, &^c," for the mayor and aldermen.

Inasmuch as under the charter of 1686, granting to the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen authority to make free citizens of the city, it was provided that "noe Person or Persons Whatsoever other then such Free Cittizens shall hereafter use any art trade Mistory or Mannuall Occupacon within the said Citty Libertyes and Precincts thereof Saveing in the times of faires there to be kept and Dureing the Continuance of such faires only," [4] while no period of residence prior to being made

[1] Extract from page 118 of the volume entitled "Mayor's Court Minutes From 24 May 1715 to 29 April 1718," in the custody of the County Clerk of New York County.

[2] Those engaged in manual occupations paid six shillings.

[3] Corporation of the City of New York. Chamberlain's Office. Journal No 2, *sub dato*. (Deposited by the Controller of the City of New York in the New York Historical Society.)

[4] For this and other information about the admission of freemen, the freeman's oath, etc., I am under obligation to Dean Roscoe Pound of the Harvard Law School.

a freeman seems to have been prescribed, it is not likely that Monis lost much time in applying for his freedom. His arrival was therefore probably about the beginning of the year 1715.

When Monis came to Boston or Cambridge, and what brought him hither is not known. The first evidence of his presence in these parts that has been found is a letter addressed to the Corporation of Harvard College under date of June 29, 1720, in which he submits to them what is doubtless to be regarded as a first draft of his *Hebrew Grammar*.[1]

Most Reverd Gentlemen

Having made an Essay to facilitate the Instruction of Youth in the Hebrew Language, wch probably may be publishe if there may be a prospect of its being serviceable, I make bold to present it, to Your Judicious perusall; I am Sensible not to be Such A master of the English tongue as to avoide Improprieties in some Expressions, in wch I, must have your excuse, as also your Candour in the other part of my composure.

Being aproved by such worthier & Learned Gentlemen as yourselves, as some of the Best & Learned Gentlemen of the Desenters & of Different Churches have doné, it will be gratefull to me, & I, do purpose to draw it over again (If God be pleased) with quotations & In Chaldean Characters [2] & Interim I, remaine Gentlemen Your m't humble servnt, to Command

JUDAH MONIS.

This communication, with the accompanying *specimen eruditionis*, not improbably backed by recommendations from some of the Boston ministers who subsequently showed so much interest in him, led the Corporation to confer on him, at the Commencement in 1720, the degree of Master of Arts.

The next that we hear of him is his baptism in the College Hall in Cambridge, on March 27, 1722, a description of which ceremony appeared in the *New England Courant* for that week.

Cambridge, March 28. Yesterday the learned and ingenious Mr. *Judah Monis*, (sometime Rabbi of the Synagogue in *Jamaica*, and afterwards in *New-York*, who commenced *Mashkil Venabon*, in the Jewish Academies of *Leghorn* and *Amsterdam*, &c.) made a publick Profession of the Christian Religion, and was baptised here by the

[1] This letter, from the college archives, is printed, as follows, by Lebowich, in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 12, pp. 102–103.

[2] What we call Hebrew square characters.

Rev. Mr. *Appleton.* The Rev. Mr. *Colman,* before the Baptism, entertain'd the Audience with an excellent Discourse upon Joh. 5. 46. *For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me.* From which Words he shewed how exactly several notable Passages of *Moses's* Writings have been accomplished in our Saviour Jesus Christ, concluding with a solemn Address to the *Rabbi,* who followed this with a learned Discourse, answering (from the holy Scriptures and their own approved Authors) Nine of the chief Arguments brought by the modern Jews to prove that the Messiah is not yet come. He introduced his Discourse with those Words, Psal. 116. 10. *I believed, therefore have I spoken; I was greatly afflicted;* and concluded with a solemn Profession of his Faith in the Messiah already come. The Solemnity was attended in the Common-Hall at *Harvard College,* by a considerable part of the Church in this Town, and as numerous an Assembly as the place would admit.

The corresponding record of the First Church in Cambridge is as follows:

March 27, 1722.

Mr. Judah Monis, a Jew by birth and Education, being converted to the Christian Faith owned the Covenant and was Baptized and Declared a Member in full Communion, with the Church of Christ, after a prayer & Discourse made by Mr. Colman from John 5. 46. and a Discourse of his own from Psal. 116. 10. answering the common objections of the Jews against Christ's being already come and giving a Confession of his faith in the Close. Sang part of the 110. Psalm. Which Solemnity was performed in the College Hall. Soli Deo Gloria.[1]

A more permanent memorial of the solemnity is a little volume containing Mr. Colman's sermon at Monis's baptism, Monis's own discourse on the same occasion, and two further

[1] The following minutes, showing Monis's further relation to the First Church may be added:

May 28, 1722.

Att a Meeting of the Chh. at my [Mr. Appleton's] house, Voted, that Mr. Monis be allowed to partake with us at the Lords Supper upon the Acct. of the profession he made and the Covt. that was given him in the Coll. Hall provided that there be no objections offerd against his life and conversation.

Feb. 5, 1736/7.

Mr. Judah Monis having desired to be received as a member of this Chh. in particular: there was no objection and he was accordingly publickly declared to be a member of this Chh. and Intitled to all priviledges with the other Brethren.

"essays" by Monis. The volume has four independent title-pages, as if to pamphlets for separate circulation, and, besides a preface prefixed by Colman to his sermon, has another by Increase Mather introducing Monis's three pieces. Mather's preface is dated, May 1, 1722; Colman's preface was written, as we shall see, after he knew that the Corporation of the College had appointed Monis instructor in Hebrew (April 30). Inasmuch as the descriptive title-pages, in the manner of our grandfathers, epitomize the author's intentions, it may save words to quote them here, without attempting to imitate the typographical display of the printer.

MOSES A WITNESS TO OUR LORD / AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST

A / Discourse / Had in the College Hall / at Cambridge, / March 27. 1722. / Before the Baptism of / R. Judah Monis. / By Benjamin Colman, / M. A. and Pastor of a Church in Boston.

Rom. 11. 15. *For if the casting away of them / be the reconciling of the World; what shall / the receiving of them be but life from the / dead?*

Boston: Printed by S. Kneeland, for / D. Henchman, and Sold at his Shop. 1722.

THE / TRUTH, / Being a Discourse / which the Author Delivered at his / Baptism, / Containing Nine Principal Arguments / the Modern Jewish Rabbins do make / to prove, the Messiah is yet / to Come: With the Answers to / each, not only according to the / Orthodox Opinion, but even with / the Authority of their own / Authentick Rabbins of Old. / And Likewise, With the / Confession of his Faith, / At the Latter End. / Dedicated to the Jewish Nation. / And Prefac'd by the Reverend / Increase Mather, D.D. / By R. Judah Monis. /

Boston: Printed by S. Kneeland, / for D. Henchman, at the Corner Shop on / the South side of the Town-House. 1722.

THE / WHOLE TRUTH: / Being / A Short Essay, / Wherein / The Author discovers what may / be the true Reason why the / Jewish Nation / Are not as yet converted to / Christianity, / Besides what others have said before him. / And Likewise, / He proves the Divinity of / Christ, not only with the Autho- / rity of the sacred Oracles, but even / by the Opinion of the Jewish Authors / of old; and answers all the Objections / that the Discourse brings forth out / of Isai. 9. 6,7. Concluding with a / Word of Exhortation. / By R. Judah Monis. /

Boston: Printed for Daniel Henchman, and / sold at his Shop. 1722.

NOTHING BUT / THE TRUTH: / Being / a Short Essay, / Wherein / The Author proves the Doctrine / Of the Ever Blessed and Adorable / Trinity, / Both out of the / Old Testament, / And with the Authority of the / Cabalistical Rabbies, / Ancient and Modern: / And that said

Doctrine is not a / Novelty, as his Country-/Men do think, but as ancient as / the Bible it self. / By R. Judah Monis. /
Boston: Printed for Daniel Henchman, and / sold at his Shop. 1722.[1]

In his preface Colman gives Monis a high reputation for learning:

AS *to Mr.* Monis *himself, it must be confessed that he seems a very* Valuable Proselyte; (*as a Learned* Person [2] *has said to me of him*) *and would be so esteemed by the learned & pious in one* Profession *or other of Christianity. He is truly read and learned in the Jewish* Cabbala and Rabbins, *a Master and Critic in the* Hebrew: "*He reads, speaks, writes and interprets it with great readiness and accuracy, and is truly* διδακτικος, *apt to teach.*" *His Diligence* and Industry *together with his* Ability *is manifest unto many who have seen his* Grammar *and* Nomenclator, *Hebrew and English; as also his Translation of the* Creed *and* Lord's Prayer, *the* thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, *and the* Assembly's Shorter Catechism *into Hebrew. And he is now translating the* Larger Catechism; *a Work I suppose never before attempted. To crown all, His knowledge of the* Holy Scriptures, *both the Old and New Testament is very happy and extraordinary, which he adorns with a laudable Conversation. Upon all which I may well add the Words that a Reverend* Minister *lately had to me; "Who knows what great designs of* Providence *may be hereby serv'd, respecting that* People of Promise, *whose Inlightning is so often the Subject of our Prayers.*"

Colman refers to the fact that the President and Fellows had appointed Monis to teach Hebrew, and gives the Overseers a hint that they might do more than that — a hint they did not take.

I trust the gracious God may mean Us (I mean the College and these Churches of Christ) great benefit from Mr. Monis his Services, if the Honourable and Reverend the Overseers of the College shall think good to confirm the Choice which the Reverend President and

[1] The copy of this volume in the Gay Collection in the Harvard College Library has on a fly-leaf the following ingenuous inscription: Jane Reed's / Book anno / Domini 1739–40
Jane Reed Her Book
God give Her grace therin to Look
And when the Bells begin to toal
The Lord of heaven receive her Soul

[2] This "learned person," as well as the "reverend minister" quoted further on was probably Increase Mather, who had been expected to preach at Monis's baptism, but was prevented by his infirmities.

Fellows, the present Corporation, have lately made of Mr. Monis to teach the Hebrew Tongue unto the Students; or rather if in their Wisdom they shall see meet to Appoint him Hebrew Professor: for which good and great Work we have no Man like-minded, as well as Capable.

The votes of the Corporation and Overseers concerning Monis have been printed in part by previous investigators. Unless otherwise noted, they are here reproduced from the records.

At a meeting of the Corporation of Harvard College in Cambridge, April 30th 1722.

12. Voted, That Mr. Judah Monis be improved as an Instructor of the Hebrew Language in the College, and that he be allow'd out of the College Treasury £50 for one Year from this day.[1]

The stipend of £50 voted him appeared to Monis inadequate, particularly in view of his matrimonial anticipations, and he accordingly addressed a letter to the Corporation, dated May 22, 1722.[2]

To the Revd President and the other Revd members of the Corporation of Harvard College,

Revernd Gentlemen

I have been Informed of the Honour you have put upon me, in chusing me to be a teacher of the Hebrew Language in your College. The respect you have shown to me in this choice, I heartily and Thankfully acknowledge, and I hope you will Interpret these Lines as Testimonies of my Gratitude. Tho, I Believe I could betake myselfe to such secular Business as by ordinary blessing of Providence would promote my worldly Interest and estate, More than what I can expect by Instructing Youth in the Hebrew Yet I find myselfe steadily inclined and Willing to spend my time (If Providence favors my Design) in Giving the best instructions I can in the aforesaid Language, To all such members of the College, as shall be desirous to Learn of me. I think the More aquainted the Ministers of the Gospel are with the Hebrew tongue, and so with the Old Testament, the Better able they will be to understand the New Testament and so to preach our Glorious Lord Jesus Christ who was spoken of by all the Old Testament Prophets. But however

[1] Corporation Records, p. 77; Leverett's Diary, April 30, 1722 (p. 222).

[2] This letter is printed in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 12, p. 103.

necessary I may apprehend the knowledge of the Hebrew Language to be, and however willing and disposed I may be to teach it, yet Revd Gentlemen I, hope, you will give me leave to say, that the salary you have voted as an Encouragement or Reward for my Labour is not sufficient to support me, It is not sufficient to sustain me in my single state, much Less if I thought to enter into a married state (wch I have some hope of doing).[1] If I should speadily enter on the service you have chosen me to, the necessary furniture for a Chamber in College Can't Cost me much Less than thirty five Pounds, But if I had such furniture by me already (wch certainly I have not) yet the salary you have voted would not suffice to support me through the year. I hope Gentlemen you will Candidly Interpret this representation of my case, and if you Continue to Desire of my being an Instructor in the Hebrew in your College, I hope you will please to think of some method whereby a proper support and Maintainance may be afforded to me, and I shall count myself greatly obliged if you will let me know your minds in this matter as soon as you conveniently Can.

I am Revnd Gentlemen with Great Gratitude and Respect, one of Your humble servants

JUDAH MONIS.

In consequence of this appeal, the Corporation increased the stipend attached to the office.

At a meeting of the Corporation of Harvard College, in the Library, June 11th 1722.

Upon inquiry into the State of the Treasury, Voted, That an Addition of £20 be made to Mr. Monises Salary.[2]

These votes having been allowed by the Overseers,[3] the President and Fellows made the following regulations concerning instruction in Hebrew:

Mr. Judah Monis having bin Late Chosen for One Year to Instruct the Scholars in the Hebrew Language, the Following Orders were agreed to with reference to his management of that Service, vizt.

1. All the Undergraduates shalbe obliged to attend his Hebrew Instructions, excepting the Freshmen, and Such others as Shalbe Exempted by the President and their respective Tutors.

[1] *Infra*, p. 299.

[2] Corporation Records, p. 77; Leverett's Diary, June 11 (p. 224).

[3] Overseers' Records, June 13, 1722 (p. 33).

2. He shal have the like power and Authority to punish those Instructed by him for delinquencies in the Exercises he Sets them, as the Tutors have with reference to their Pupils.
3. These Hebrew Instructions shalbe attended four days in a week, On Munday and Wednesday in the After-noon, on Fryday and Saturday in the Forenoon, unless on those Frydays which the Bacchelors Disputations may prevent them in the Forenoon, then they shalbe attended in the After-noon.
4. These Exercises shal begin in the After-noon at two of the Clock, and in the forenoon, at half an hour past nine ordinariely.
5. That Every Scholar shalbe obliged to have an Hebrew Bible, or at lest an Hebrew Psaltar, and also an Hebrew Lexicon.
6. Their Hebrew Exercises shalbe as follows, vizt. one Exercise in a week shalbe the writing the Hebrew and Rabbinicall. The rest shalbe in this gradual method, That is to Say, 1. Copying the Grammar and reading. 2. Reciting it and reading. 3. Construing, 4. Parsing, 5. Translating, 6. Composing, 7. reading without points.
6. Mr. Monis shall forthwith enter on this Service.[1]

The Overseers approved these regulations, with the exception of the second, which gave the instructor the same authority as the tutors to discipline students for neglect of their work. For this the Overseers, probably having doubts about Monis's experience as a disciplinarian and still graver doubts about the reaction of the students to his discipline, proposed the following substitute, which the Corporation adopted.

That it be recommended to the Corporation to fix the Mulct for delinquents in the Hebrew Exercises and that a list of such as are absent or tardy be kept by the Instructor and be returned from time to time to the President or their respective Tutors.[2]

The fines fixed by the Corporation under this rule were: for absence, one shilling; tardiness, sixpence; evident negligence, one shilling; contemptuous carriage, five shillings.[3]

The appointment of Monis was for one year. It was renewed the next year, with the following resolutions:

The Corporation, having had experience of great benefit to the College from the service of the Hebrew instructor, Mr. Judah

[1] Corporation Records, July 30, 1722 (pp. 78–79); Leverett's Diary, same date (p. 226). — The abbreviations of the manuscript are resolved.
[2] Overseers' Records, Aug. 30, 1722.
[3] Leverett's Diary, Sept. 3, 1722.

Monis, the last year, Voted, that such an office be continued in the College, so long as a suitable person for that service can be found, and a suitable support for him.

Apparently the experiment of turning over all the Hebrew to Monis did not prove entirely satisfactory, for when he was reappointed in 1724, it was voted, on the recommendation of the Overseers, "that the Tutors of the several classes be obliged to instruct their respective pupils (except such as are entered with the said Mr. Monis) in the Hebrew language, as heretofore;" and "that Mr. Monis be obliged to instruct such of the graduates at the College in the Hebrew language, as shall attend him, at such times as the Corporation shall appoint."

For a dozen years Monis's pupils began their troubles with the Hebrew language by copying a manuscript grammar composed by him. The library of this Society possesses two such copies, one made by Jonathan Belcher, the younger, whose father, Governor Jonathan Belcher, is the conspicuous name in the dedication of the grammar printed ten years later; the other by John Cotton. The former, which fills thirty-seven pages in small quarto, closely and neatly written, bears on the front page:

Jonathan Belcher
His Grammar
Composed by Rabbi
Judah Monis
A. D. 1725

After the "Finis" is a note: Cambridge, Dec^{r} 27th ¼ past 12 in the morning.

Cotton's copy (59 pp. sm. 4°) gives more exact information about the time consumed in the task:

Begun to write it October 17: 1727
Finished Nov^{r} 13 1727

At the end: "Finished Nov^{r} 13:1727, having been about 4 weeks." We can almost hear the jubilation with which he ended his tedious task:

Jamque opus exegi
Gloria soli Deo non
Hominibus

On the front page, among various scribbles is this significant note:

Begun to recite it Nov^{r} 17: 1727
Finished I don't know when 1728.

In 1735, with the aid of a loan from the college,[1] Monis published his grammar, a font of Hebrew type having been sent over from England for the purpose by Thomas Hollis. This volume has been often described, and it would be superfluous to repeat the bibliographical particulars here.[2] Suffice it to say that, so far as a cursory comparison shows, it is considerably enlarged upon the manuscript grammar which his earlier pupils had to copy for themselves; but in plan and method, and largely in formulation also, it is the same. There is nothing of the Kindergarten about Monis's method; he starts in with close-packed pages enumerating and classifying the various functions of the so-called "servile" letters in word-formation, inflection, and syntax, to be memorized — certainly not to be understood — by pupils who knew nothing of any of those subjects. But he has set on the back of the title page an apposite pedagogic maxim, which his students doubtless took to heart and gratefully put in practice:

I advise Beginners not to perplex themselves about any Rule that at first view seems difficult, which will be of great Advantage to carry on their design in the knowledge of this *Primitive Tongue* with Success.

So long as Monis was the instructor in Hebrew, his grammar remained the text-book; but two or three years after his resignation a much more elementary work, based on one published in England by Israel Lyons of Cambridge University, was printed for the President and Fellows of Harvard College, without an editor's name,[3] and probably introduced in the College classes, at least for beginners.

[1] On these financial arrangements and other matters concerning the publication and sale of the grammar, see Friedman, *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*. No. 22, pp. 10 ff.

[2] Friedman, *l. c.*, p. 9, prints the prospectus, a facsimile of which, from a copy in the Prince Collection of the Boston Public Library, is prefixed to the volume of the *Publications* in which his article appears.

[3] It may be surmised that the editor was Monis's successor, Stephen Sewall. Monis's own name has sometimes been connected with this grammar in bibliog-

In 1724 (Jan. 18) Monis married Mrs. Abigail Marret,[1] presumably the lady of whom he cherished the hopes he revealed to the Corporation in his plea for more salary.[2] The inventory of his property filed in the Probate Court of Worcester County shows that his home was on a lot adjoining land belonging to the Marrets.[3] He owned also five acres of mowing land and five acres of pasture land in other places, the whole appraised in the settlement of his estate at £433/6/8.[4] His salary at the best was no living, and for many years he kept a shop in Cambridge. In a petition addressed to the governor (Shirley) and legislature in 1753 for a grant from the public treasury supplementary to what he received from the college, he wrote:

And your Petitioner begs further to observe that he has kept a shop during his residence in Cambridge [5] in which he once had a considerable stock, but by the means aforesaid is now reduced to Less than £26/3/4; and having no other Incomes for the Support of his family, but the Profits of that, with a few acres of land and what he receives from his Instructing above said, He apprehends that without further Relief — he shall now in his old Age, be obliged not only to Expend the Little that he now has Left, but be reduced to Want.[6]

In President Wadsworth's Diary are many entries to the effect that, on such and such a day, Mr. Monis was given a note (order) on the Steward for such and such a sum, most

raphies and library catalogues; but without evidence and against all probability. It was printed in 1763, by R. and S. Draper.

[1] Records of the First Church in Cambridge p. 75. Abigail, daughter of Edward and Hannah Marret, was born February 28, 1700–01. She died October 27, 1760, "in the 60th year of her age."

[2] *Supra*, p. 295.

[3] In 1724 his lot was thus recorded: "To Mr. Judah Monis two Acres a Quarter and fourteen Rods bounded Easterly with the Countrey Road, Westerly with D. Kidder Northerly with Madame Olivers heirs and Southerly with J. Robbins's heirs."

[4] See Friedman, *l. c.* pp. 7 f.

[5] Inasmuch as Monis is recorded in New York as a merchant, it is likely that he came to New England in the same quality, and that he was established in trade before he wrote to the Corporation in 1720 (*supra*, p. 290). Was it in Boston, or had he already set up shop in Cambridge? That before his appointment as instructor he had made such progress in the affections of a Cambridge woman as to contemplate matrimony favours the latter alternative.

[6] Friedman, Appendix A, p. 20.

frequently for nails, hinges, locks, etc., for the College, which he seems at this time to have customarily supplied with such hardware. Under date of August 4, 1736, we find that Mr. Monis had a note to the Steward for £2, 16sh., 8d., "for pipes tobacco, etc., for the Corporation." [1]

In 1735 Monis acted as interpreter to the Governor and Council in an investigation of the loss of a Spanish vessel, the *Jesus Maria Joseph*, on the high seas.[2] In 1744, he, with the other teachers in the college, signed the academic counterblast to Whitefield's aspersions on the state of religion and morals in the college. For the rest, he seems to have pursued his prosaic occupations for thirty-eight years in respectable obscurity.

In 1760 his wife died, and, shortly after, he resigned his instructorship and went to live with his brother-in-law, the Rev. John Martyn,[3] in Northborough,[4] where he died on April 25, 1764.[5]

His epitaph runs:

Here lie buried the remains of
Rabbi Judah Monis, M. A.
Late Hebrew Instructor,
at Harvard College in Cambridge,
In which office he continued forty years,
But embraced the Christian faith,
And was publicly baptized,
At Cambridge, A. D. 1722,
And departed this life,
April 25th, 1764
Aged eighty-one years, two months and twenty-one days.

A native branch of Jacob see,
Which once from off its olive broke,

[1] Was it the turbulent Commencement that year (Quincy, I. 397 f.) that demanded so large an outlay for tobacco, "etc."?

[2] Friedman, *l. c.* p. 16.

[3] Martyn's wife was Mary Marret, born April 28, 1706, and married in Concord, August 18, 1724.

[4] Northborough was the northern part of the town of Westborough, in Worcester County. It was made the second parish, or precinct, of Westborough in 1744; constituted the district of Northborough in 1766; and created a town by a general act in 1775. The church in Northborough was organized in 1746, and John Martyn (A.B. 1724) was the first pastor. See *Manual of the General Court;* John Warner Barber, *Historical Collections*, etc., 1839, 589.

[5] His will, with several codicils, is in Friedman, Appendix C, pp. 21–24.

Regrafted from the living tree
Of the reviving sap partook.
From teeming Zion's fertile womb,
As dewy drops in early morn,
Or rising bodies from the tomb
At once be Israel's nation born.

II

The circumstances of Monis's conversion were such as to leave room for doubt, even in the minds of persons favorably disposed to him, whether it was prompted solely by new convictions, without admixture of more tangible considerations. In the exhortation which Colman addressed to him before his baptism, we read these pointed words:

> It is easy for you to receive a place in the visible Church and Kingdom of the Messiah, but within it there is an Invisible State of Grace and Salvation; Are you *in That?* . . . Be sure that you have *no By-ends*, no sinister and corrupt *Views*, no *worldly* Advantages, in what you do this day. GOD forbid, that *these* should act you. We hope, *we believe* they don't: You have *solemnly professed* that they do not.

Mather, in his preface to Monis's *Discourse*, comes closer. After adducing some recent examples of the conversion of Jews to Christianity, among them an account by Dr. Kidder [1] of "two hundred Jews lately converted in the city of Frankford," he goes on to speak of many Jews who, having been "converted, or rather perverted, to popery, have after renounced their Christianity"; and then, with unmistakable significance, dwells on two notorious cases of similar defection in Protestant universities. One of these was Julius Conrad Otto,[2] who embraced Christianity and became professor of Hebrew in the university at Altdorf, and "writ violently against the synagogue; nevertheless this man, scandalized at the devotion of his brethren, quitted his profession and returned to Judaism." Besides Otto, "there was a Rabbinical Professor at Vienna, who was thought to be Zealous for Christianity, so that he

[1] Richard Kidder (1633–1703), Bishop of Bath and Wells. I have not had opportunity to hunt up the reference, which is to be looked for in his *Demonstration of the Messias* (1684, and later, in parts, till 1700), or in his Boyle Lectures, 1693.

[2] Naphtali Margolioth; born 1562, baptized 1603.

translated Paul's Greek Epistle to the Hebrews into the Hebrew Tongue, who afterwards returned to his Judaism." [1]

To make the application plainer, Mather continues: "Many other examples I might mention, but I forbear. There is no cause to fear that Mr. Monis will renounce his Christianity, since he did embrace it voluntarily and gradually, and with much consideration, and from Scriptures in the Old-Testament." [2]

It is evident from Monis's Discourse and Essays that he had been thoroughly indoctrinated in Protestant dogmatics and apologetics; or, to be more exact, had been diligently coached for the performance. The creed in which he defines the orthodox faith betrays the hand of an expert theologian. Throughout, he exhibits an extensive knowledge of Protestant theology and controversy,[3] and, in the essay on the Trinity, the animadversions on the "Arians" imply an acquaintance with the latest phase of discussion concerning the person of Christ[4] which is hardly to be attributed to a fresh convert from Judaism. "The voice is the voice of Jacob, but the hands are the hands of Esau."

Who Monis's theological adviser was can only be conjectured, but it is a fair conjecture that Increase Mather at least

[1] Mather means Friedrich Albrecht Christiani, who was baptized at Strassburg in 1673, and soon became professor at Leipzig (not Vienna). After teaching there for twenty years, he retired, and returned to Judaism. His life, with an account of his conversion, is appended to his translation of Hebrews, *Epistola ad Hebraeos ex Graeco in purum idioma Ebraeorum*, etc. 1676. The bibliographer Masch remarks on this translation, which is praised for its elegance, that it was the work "hominis malæ fidei, qui ad pristinum rediisse vomitum videtur."

[2] Monis was not, as Mather thought, the first Jew whose conversion is recorded in these parts. In Sewall's *Diary* (II. 65), under date, September 17, 1702, we read: "Lord's day, Mr. Bradstreet baptizeth Simon, the Jew, at Charlestowne, a young man whom he was instrumental to convert." According to an anonymous note among the Savage Papers (*Proceedings*, XLIV. 685 f.), Mather himself had been less successful. During a revival in the North Church, about fifty years before (i. e. before 1742), a visionary young woman, among other unfulfilled predictions, foretold, "that a Jew whom Mather the Elder has taken great Pains to Convert to the Xtn Faith, shall be converted. . . . Which three things never was verified . . . for the Jew went over to Jamaica and dyed a hardned wrech." The editor of Cotton Mather's Diary (7 *Collections*, VIII. 741) makes the self-evident observation that this Jew was not Judah Monis.

[3] Some of this may have been got out of books, but to the knowledge of the books themselves he must have been guided by a theologian.

[4] *Infra*, p. 305.

had a hand in the work. There can be little doubt that he was the "learned person" whose high commendation of Monis Colman repeats; he would have been the preacher at his baptism, if his health had permitted; he wrote a preface to Monis's three tracts. The outbreak against the Arians is quite in his mood at a time when he was much exercised by the decline of orthodoxy. The thing that might seem to militate against this hypothesis is that the mentions of Monis in Cotton Mather's *Diary* do not suggest any previous interest in him.[1]

Whatever may have been the source of Monis's knowledge of Christian doctrine and the "Evidences of Christianity," he brought to his undertaking enough learning of his own kind. His references and quotations have a wide range — the Bible; mediæval Jewish commentators, grammarians, and lexicographers; Talmud and Midrash; Maimonides; recent anti-Christian apologetic and polemic; and numerous cabalistic writings, from the *Sepher Yezirah* down to the followers of Luria. Much of this erudition may be second-hand — the learned of all times and all religions have been unscrupulous about pilfering their predecessors' quotations — but at least the author knew where to go for it, which is itself learning in a way.[2]

Monis's *Discourse* on the occasion of his baptism and the two *Essays* which were printed with it are parts of one apology and defense of the Christian faith, as the titles, "The Truth," "The Whole Truth," "Nothing But The Truth," indicate. In the first he undertakes to prove from Scripture that Jesus

[1] The entries are as follows:

[July] 17 [1724] G. D. I would move Mr. *Monnis*, the converted Jew, to collect his Remarks in his Reading of the Old Testament; which may mend our Translations, or may lead us to a Sense of the deep Things intended by the holy Spirit of GOD, in His Oracles, which are not commonly observed. A Jew rarely comes over to us, but he brings Treasures with him.

[July] 24. G. D. Rarely does a Jew of any Erudition come over to Christianity, but he brings with him some Treasures of Illustration upon the sacred Scriptures. We have a Christianized Jew at *Cambridge*, who is a great Master of the Hebrew Language. I will putt him upon collecting and præserving the notable Observations, which he makes in reading the Hebrew Bible. *Op. cit.*, 741, 743.

[2] It is not likely that Monis possessed many of the books to which he refers, but if he chose to consult it, he would have found in Cambridge the library of John Lightfoot, the greatest of English rabbinical scholars, bequeathed by him to the College, and unfortunately destroyed in the fire of 1764.

was the Messiah foretold by the prophets; in the second, to prove the divinity of Christ; and in the third, the doctrine of the Trinity. They are "dedicated to the Jewish nation," with an apologia addressed to those of his race who may be surprised and incensed by his defection; and the argument throughout is directed to controverting Jewish objections to the doctrines under discussion, frequently by an appeal to their "authentick Rabbins of old," against modern controversialists, among whom he names particularly Isaac Abrabanel and Manasseh ben Israel.

In the Discourse Monis takes up the principal arguments on which the Jews rely to prove that the Old Testament predictions about the Messiah were not fulfilled in the time of Jesus nor since, and consequently that the advent of the Messiah is still in the future. He enumerates nine such arguments:

1st, That at the coming of the Messiah there shall be a Great War, called the War of Gog and Magog, made up of certain People, newly born for that Purpose, in which War the King Messiah shall Conquer, by killing the Enemy's King by the Breath of his Mouth.

2dly, At the time of the Messiah, the Ten Tribes with the rest of the Jewish Nation, shall be gathered together into one place, even in Judea.

3dly, When the Messiah shall come, He shall Build a third Temple in Jerusalem, as was formerly; but with more Glory and Majesty.

4thly, After the coming of the Messiah, every dumb Creature shall be as they were before Adam's Sin.

5thly, At the time of the Messiah and for ever more after, an Universal and General Peace, shall be all over the World.

6thly, The Messiah was to come at the end of the World.

7thly, The Mountain where the House of God was Built, Miraculously shall Grow up, and be higher than any Mountains and Hills in the World.

8thly, All Nations in General without exception, shall acknowledge him to be the Messiah promis'd by the Prophets of old.

9thly, and lastly, The very same Law that God gave to the Jewish Nation from the beginning, either Moral or Ceremonial is to be kept until the end of the World.

These are, in fact, stock arguments in Jewish apologetic. Most of them (viz., numbers 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, and 9) are found — in a different order — in the letter of Ibn Vives Lorqui to the

convertite Paul of Burgos (Solomon ha-Levi), in the first years of the fifteenth century;[1] and are repeated, along with others, by later defenders of the faith, for example, by the Karaite Isaac Troki in his *Hizzuk Emunah*.[2] In some cases Monis disputes the interpretation; in others he distinguishes between the first and second advents of the Messiah, and postpones the unfulfilled predictions to the latter, as Christian theologians had done from time immemorial.

In the second tract, after disposing of the question why the Jews as a nation have not yet been converted to Christianity, Monis discusses the passages in the Old Testament which served Christians as proof-texts for the divinity of Christ, particularly Isa. 9, 6 f., and repels the Jewish objections to this interpretation and application. He finds the mystery of the Messiah's birth from a virgin mother in the anomalous *mem clausum*,[3] of לסרבה (*lemarbeh*) in Isa. 9, 7, as many Christians had done; and combats the Jewish interpreters who held that the Immanuel child in Isa. 7, 14 was Hezekiah, averring that the verse was not so understood by more ancient authorities.[4] In general, he shows familiarity with the common arguments on both sides of the question.

The final Essay, on the Trinity, undertakes to prove that the doctrine is not a Christian innovation, but is as old as the Bible itself, and belongs to the higher (cabalistic) theology of Judaism. Before he addresses himself to this task, however, he goes out of his way to assail the papists and the Arians, of whom "one worships idols *in actu*, namely the papists, and the other *in potentia*, namely the Arians, etc., and of the two I think (if I may pass my judgement) the last is the worst, for two reasons," etc. The "Arians" against whom here and elsewhere in these tracts Monis inveighs are not the ancient and long extinct heretics properly called by that name, but contemporary English divines, among whom Dr. Samuel Clarke (*Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, 1712) was at the moment making the most stir.

[1] See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *s. v.* "Polemics."

[2] Reprinted in Wagenseil's *Tela ignea Satanæ*, 76 ff.

[3] The letter, which has no opening, being a symbol of the unopened womb — the perpetual virginity of Mary.

[4] The interpretation is not so recent and novel as he represents it.

Monis's denunciations of the "Arians" drew a characteristic rebuke from Thomas Hollis, to whom a copy of the volume had probably been sent by Colman. In a letter dated August 18, 1722, concerning the Hollis Professorship of Divinity, about which negotiations were then pending, Hollis comes to speak of Monis, and advises Colman "to instruct him a little farther in the Christian doctrine of more extensive charity, and not to judge too hastily of his neighbour, and exclude from salvation every one that differs from him in the explication and belief of the article of the Trinity. A glorious truth it is, but the manner of explaining it appears difficult; so difficult, that scarce two can say exactly alike, except they agree on a form and agree to write after it."

It is not improbable that Hollis, who was having painful experience of the temper of Boston orthodoxy, hoped that his Christian admonition might be passed on to those who presumably instructed and inspired Monis's polemic digression.

In contradiction to the perversities of papists and Arians, and to correct the opinion of the Jews that Protestants worship three gods, Monis defines the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity and the person of Christ in a technically formulated creed, with which he was doubtless provided by his theological tutors.

When it comes to demonstrating the Trinity to Jews, he announces that he shall not attempt to set forth all the proofs, "being it has been already done before now, by such as are more able than I am, and in likelyhood, Than I am like to be." In fact, for the proofs from the Old Testament, he gives only a bare enumeration of the *loca probantia* commonly alleged by Protestant theologians, remarking, with unexpected frankness, that some of them are inconclusive, and that the Jews include all of them in this judgement. He attaches much more importance to "the authority of the cabalistical Rabies, ancient and modern."[1] From them he endeavors to prove that the confession of the divine unity, which is the corner-stone of Judaism — "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord"

[1] It is not difficult to find a trinity in the Cabala, and not a few Jews found their way to Christianity through it. In the fifteenth century a group of such converts in Spain (Paul de Heredia and others) made a delectus of cabalistic texts to prove the fundamental Christian doctrines, and were followed in this enterprise both by converted Jews and by born Christians.

(Deut. 6, 4) — not only does not exclude a plurality of persons in the godhead, but, when rightly understood, involves it. In support of this assertion he quotes several passages from the Zohar, "that famous book, more ancient than the Talmud itself, composed by one of the sages of the Mishnau, by name Rabbi Simeon ben Johauy"; also, the Sepher Yezirah, "that famous and most ancient of all the books, the Jewish nation pretend to have (a book which some of them would have to be as ancient as our father Abraham, and of his composing also, as they say)."

Other cabalistic authors whom he quotes are, Joseph Gikatilla on the *Ten Enumerations* (*Sephiroth*), who writes of the "Three Highest," [1] among whom "there is neither separation nor division"; Jacob Sasportas, *The Holy Temple;* [2] Rabbi Judah ha-Hasid, *Mateh Mosheh;* Bahya ben Asher (*Commentary on the Pentateuch*); and Rabbi Moses Caro [*sic*]. In conclusion, he offers, *de suo*, a new demonstration, by a complicated operation in cabalistic ciphering, that all three persons of the Trinity are included and comprehended in the name Jehovah. It is evident from the whole argument that Monis not only was acquainted with a considerable range of cabalistic literature, but that he attributed to it the highest authority. We shall see that there is other evidence of his cabalistic predilections.

III

Several months ago Professor Kittredge called my attention to a Hebrew manuscript he had come across in the College Library, on the first page of which the words "Judah Monis' Book" were plainly legible through a cancellation. It was labelled, "Rabbinical Manuscript," and in the catalogue, under Monis's name, was entered merely as "Hebrew Manuscript," without further description. The volume was given to the College Library in 1767 by John Martyn, Monis's brother-in-law, to whom the latter by his will left all his books "whether in Hebrew or other languages." [3]

[1] The first triad of the Sephiroth.

[2] I. e., the work under that title by Moses ben Maimon Albas, which Sasportas edited, Amsterdam, 1653.

[3] Friedman, *l. c.* p. 23.

Twenty or twenty-five years ago, when a committee of the American Oriental Society was engaged in making a rough list of Oriental manuscripts in this country, Professor Richard Gottheil inspected this volume, and communicated his memoranda to Dr. George Alexander Kohut, who in the article on Monis already referred to gives the following description of it:[1]

He also left the college a few pages of Hebrew MS. It has the signature of Monis on the fly-leaf, and was carefully examined by Professor Gottheil, of Columbia University, who kindly gave me a summary of its contents. They are all cabbalistic writings, being for the most part extracts from the book *Emeth le-Ya'kob* (explanation of the writings of אר"י[2]), printed in Livorno, end of the eighteenth century. It consists of forty-four leaves, signed at the end: אני יהודה מוניש מצאתי. We shall not go into details.

It is somewhat strange that this note did not put some of the subsequent investigators of Monis's career upon a further inquiry. The manuscript is in reality of much more considerable dimensions than would be inferred from this notice, and its contents much more varied. It is a quarto of 372 pages, measuring 21.5 x 15.5 cm. The writing on the page covers approximately 19 x 12.5 cm., and runs 35 lines and upwards to the page; but it is not all the work of one scribe, and there is no uniformity in the latter particulars. The volume is made up of ten pieces, ranging in length from 3 or 4 pages to 150. The first (f. 1*a*–44*a*) is in Monis's handwriting, and is signed by him at the end, but, unfortunately, with no indication of the date. The others are in several different hands and scripts, none of them bearing either the name of the scribe or the date. What we have is, therefore, a collection of tracts or excerpts, one of which, at least, Monis had himself transcribed, while the rest were acquired from others and subsequently bound up together.

Professor Louis Ginzberg, of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, to whom I sent the incipit and explicit of the several pieces, with some photographs, very kindly put

[1] *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, XIV. (July, 1898), 226.
[2] I. e., Isaac Luria.

himself to the trouble of identifying the texts contained in the volume.[1]

This is not the place for a detailed account of the sources from which these texts were transcribed; suffice it to say that they are all from cabalistic writings of the modern school which originated with Isaac Luria (1533–72), and had its earliest seats at Safed in Palestine and at Damascus.[2] This movement soon reached Italy, where Leghorn, through its commercial connections with the Orient became one of its chief centres, and in the 17th century it had eminent representatives in Amsterdam.

Monis's volume includes a short biography of Luria (*Maaseh Nissim*), which has been repeatedly printed, and two extracts from his works; several extracts from Luria's most influential disciple, Hayyim Vital; others from Jacob Zemah ben Hayyim, in the next generation; R. Abraham ben Isaac of Granada, and R. Naphtali Hirz Bachrach. Some of these works had been printed in the 17th or at the beginning of the 18th century (several of them at Amsterdam); in other cases they probably circulated in manuscript among such as sought enlightenment and edification in such literature.

A closer examination of the contents of the volume might perhaps show the things that particularly interested Monis in this literature; but its mere existence shows that he had an acquaintance not only with the classical Cabala, on which he chiefly relies in his arguments about the Trinity, but with the latest developments.

Among the evidences of Monis's learning which Colman recites in his laudatory preface, he couples with the grammar "his Nomenclator, Hebrew and English"; and in the preface to the *Grammar* (1735) Monis announces his intention to publish, "as soon as Providence will permit," "a significant, and a plain Nomenclature," as well as a Hebrew translation of the Shorter and Larger Catechisms and other works which he has prepared for the benefit of young beginners. Evidently, Provi-

[1] Except nos. 5 and 8, two short extracts, for the recognition of which the material I furnished proved insufficient.

[2] See the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, "Cabala," "Luria."

dence did not permit, and no trace of these works had hitherto been found.

A few weeks ago, by pure accident, I discovered in the College Library Monis's own manuscript of the lost "Nomenclator." [1] The first leaf has the heading, *Nomenclatura hebraica;* and on the last page, outside, in Monis's hand is written: "Short Nomenclator or vocabular in English and hebrew, Composed Alphabetically, for the use and benefit of my Pupils in particular, and for the advantage of those who are Desirous to obtain the knowledge of the hebrew Tongue in general; which may be that great help to understand not only the Sacred oracles in their original but even any Jewish author, (so far as Concern nouns) as also it may give great in Sight in the tongue to those, as to Compose it, — a work altogether new.

by Judah Monis." [2]

It is a little book of 28 pages, 16.5 x 10 cm., without covers, running 17 to 19 lines to the page, and commonly two English words, with their ordinary Hebrew equivalents, on each line; thus containing, by estimate, about 1000 words. The English words are not strictly alphabetized, as will appear from the following example:

A	Nomenclatura hebraica.
מַלְאַךְ : שׁלִיח [3] :	Angel. Apostle.
אֲוִיר : תֵּבָה :	Air. Ark.
פִּיחַ : מוּמָר :	Ashes. Apostate.
זְרוֹעַ : קוֹף :	Arm. Ape.

The author's intention evidently was to provide beginners with a small vocabulary (nouns only) for exercises in translating from English into Hebrew. The words are not confined to the

[1] A slip of brown paper laid in the manuscript bears the following note: "A vocabulary by Judah Monis with his handwriting on the last leaf. The gift of Prof. A. Norton. Rec[d] Apr. 28, 1841."

[2] Below, another hand has written this fragment of verses:

Women when good, the best of saints,
That bright seraphic lovely
She, who nothing of an angel
Wants but truth and immortality.

Who, silken limbs and charming
Face, keeps Nature warm

[3] *Sic.*

Biblical diction, but include such as are found in rabbinical and modern writings.

Professor Kittredge recently found in the College Library a Spanish Bible, bound up with the English Prayer Book and Sternhold and Hopkins' Psalms, which belonged to Monis. At his suggestion, a brief description of the volume is added here.

It is a folio, handsomely bound in calf, with ornamental embossing on the front and back bearing the initials M. B.

The Bible is the version of Cypriano de Valera, published in Amsterdam, "en casa de Lorenço Jacobi," 1602. At the foot of the title page is written, "Judah Monis's Bible. 1735." At the top of the page, "A Romish Bible printed in the year 1602"; and across the ornamental vignette, "A Popish Bible. See Gen. 3. 15." [1] What peculiar popishness the writer discovers in this verse passes my divination; the rendering does not follow the Vulgate, and gives correctly enough the sense of the Hebrew words, whatever difference of opinion there may be about the literal meaning of the rare verb. Moreover, Cypriano de Valera was a Protestant, as was also Cassiodoro de Reina, of whose translation (Basel, 1569) Valera's edition was a revision. The censure is probably not by Monis, but by some previous possessor of the volume.

In the front of the volume, before the Bible, the English Book of Common Prayer is bound in, in a handsome edition by Thomas and John Buck, Printers to the University of Cambridge, 1629. At the foot of this title page, also, is written, "Judah Monis's Book. 1735." The Psalms, in the metrical version of Sternhold and Hopkins, "with apt notes to sing them withal," from the same press and of the same year, are bound in after the Bible.

The Prayer Book has been revised with pen and ink by its owner to conform to changes subsequent to the date of publication. The collects for the days of several suppressed saints are cancelled,[2] with the general note, "Abolished since the days of King James the Second." In the Litany, King Charles'

[1] Y enemistad pondré entre ti y la muger, y entre tu simiente y su simiente,[m] ella te herirá en la cabeça, y tu le heriras en el calcañar.

[Note] [m]. A sab. la simiente de la muger, Christo. Rom. 1, 3.

[2] St. Matthias day; S. Barnabe apostle; S. Bartholemew apostle. S. Michael and all angels. — Various phrases in the Comminations are also struck out.

name is struck out, and in the margin "George the 2" written; while at the foot of the page is added, "Queen Caroline, His Royal Highness, Frederick, Prince of Wales, the duke, and princesses, and all the royal family." The date of the revision thus falls after the accession of George II (1727) and before the death of Queen Caroline (1737), and was presumably prior to Monis's acquisition of the volume.

The College book plate gives the information that the volume came to the Library as the gift of the Rev. Peter Whitney, of Northborough, April 30, 1770.[1]

Mr. RHODES read a paper on "The Chinese Question from 1877 to 1882," being a chapter from a volume about to be published.

Mr. TUTTLE read as follows:

THE BOSTON PETITIONS OF 1664

In the Society there are photostat copies of two petitions signed by many inhabitants of Boston, the originals of which are in the possession of our associate, Mr. C. P. Greenough, both without date except for a pencil memorandum on one which says, "Probably about Oct. 1664." In the heading is manifested "There earnest request that the present Government wth all there Libertyes may in there Latitude be still continued." A copy of another similar paper is in the Society's collection, the original of which is in the State Archives, and also signed by other inhabitants of Boston. This document bears the date October 25, 1664. Two hundred and thirty-seven names appear on these three lists showing the original spelling and handwriting of the subscribers, with the exception of a few names in one list written in the same hand, and some signed by a mark. They form an interesting group of Boston names, some of which are not found in Savage's *Dictionary*, or in any early Boston lists.

A question arises as to the exact date of the first two papers. On turning to the records[2] of the Bay Colony of the session beginning October 19, 1664, it appears that while the Court was

[1] Peter Whitney, A.B. 1762, succeeded John Martyn in the church in Northborough in 1767. He died in 1816.

[2] *Mass. Col. Records*, IV. Pt. ii, 136.

sitting on one of the following days "that seuerall persons, inhabitants of Cambridge, were at the doore, and desiring liberty to make knoune theire errand, were called in." They then presented a similar petition, and "at the same time and the next day seuerall peticons of like nature from Wooborne, Dorchester, Redding, Chelmsford, Concord, Billirrikey, Boston, Dedham, & Meadfeild, and also one from seuerall inhabitants of Roxbury, all of which are on file." The third paper in our collection is addressed to the Court "Assembled and sitting at Boston this 25:8^{br}. 1664." This date fixes the time of signing and presentation, and settles the dates of all of the petitions as of October 24 and 25, or of the 25th and 26th.

The immediate occasion of this aroused public interest in the preservation of the charter privileges was the arrival in Boston on July 23, 1664, of two of the four commissioners sent over by King Charles II, Col. Richard Nicolls and George Cartwright, "about fiue or sixe of the clocke at night, being Saturday, just before the Sabaoth." [1] The subsequent meeting of the Council was held at their request on July 26. On October 19, following, the General Court met to agree upon a form of address to the King which it was hoped would lead to the preservation of the government and our liberties. Events during the preceding four years of the King's reign had gradually led to this appeal. On August 3, the General Court desired "the reuerend elders now in toune to afford this Court theire best advice forthwith thereupon"; [2] and they, with the ministers of Boston, must have played an important part in arousing public sentiment. These three petitions are all that can be found of the number presented at the session of October 19, which were then said to be on file.

The names on the petitions follow, arranged in alphabetical order, with a question in a few cases as to the correct reading.

ABRAHAM ADAMS
DAVID ADAMS
NATHANELL ADAMS
HENRY ALLEN
JAMES ALLEN,
EDWARD ALLEYN
JOHN AMEE
HUGH AMES
JOHN ANDERSON
GODFREE ARMITAGE
THEODOR ATKINSON
THEODOR ATKINSON, JR.
JOHN ATWOOD
FRANCIS BACON

[1] *Mass. Col. Records*, IV. Pt. ii, 157.

[2] *Ib.*, 119.

ALEXANDER BAKER
JOHN BAKER
JAMES BALSTON
EDWARD BARKER
RICHARD BARNARD
JOSEPH BASTAR
PAUL BATT
ALEXANDER BECKE
JOSIAS BELCHAR
EDWARD BELCHER, SR.
EDWARD BELCHER, JR.
RICHARD BENATT
JOHN BIGGS
NATHANIELL BISHOPE
BENJAMIN BISHOPP
EDWARD BLAKE
ROBERT BLOT
ALEXANDER BOGLE
EDWARD BOOD
PETER BRACKETT,
DANIEL BRADLEY
THOMAS BRATTLE
HENIREY BREEDSHOW
BENJAMIN BRISCOE
RICHARD BROCKE
WILLIAM BROWNE
CHARLES BUCKNER
JOHN BULL
THOMAS BUMSTED
GEORGE BURRILL
STEVEN BUTLER
THOMAS BUTTOLPH
BARTHOLOMEW CADD
RICHARD CARTER
ANTHONY CHECKLEY
JOHN CHECKLEY
THOMAS CLARKE
AUGUSTEN CLEMENT
SAMUEL CLEMENT
RICHARD COLACOTT
JOHN COLLENS
RICHARD COOKE
DAVID COPP
JONATHAN COPP
WILLIAM COPP
EDWARD CORVELL
RICHARD CRASE
RICHARD CRITCHLY
ISACK CULLIMORE
EDWARD DAVIS
HUM [ ] DAWSE
AMBROS DEW
HICKS DINNYNG [DUNNING]
ADAM DINSDALL
JOHN DINSDELL
WILLYAM DINSDL
HENRY DORSSON[DAWSON]
DAVID EAIST
FRANCIS EAIST
ROBERT EARLE
EDMOND EDDENDEN
ROBERT EDMUNDS
THOMAS EDWARDS
JACOB ELIOT
MORDETT ENGES
JOHN EWELL
JOHN FARNAM [JR.]
JOHN FARNOM
HENRY FELLCH
JEREMIAH FITCH
THOMAS FITCH
SAMUEL FLACK
EDWARD FLETCHER
THEOPHILUS FRAREY
JOHN FRINKE
DANIEL FRUIS
RICHARD GEORG
CHRISTOPHER GIBSON
JOHN GLOVER
JOHN GLOVER, [JR.]
EDWARD GOODIN
JAMES GREENE
EDMOND GRENLEFE
WILLIAM GREENOUGH
NATHANIELL GREENWOOD
JOSEPH GRIDLEY
THOMAS GRUBB
JOHN HARKER
JOHN HARRISSON
GEORGE HESKETT
SAMUEL HICKS
DAVID HITCHBON
CHRISTOPHER HOLLAND
RICHARD HOLLINGSHEAD
HENRY HORWOOD
ROBERT HOWARD
FRANCIS HUDSON
JOHN HURD, JR.
WILLIAM JEPSON
MORGAN JONES
JAMES JONSON
WILLIAM KILLCUPP
GEORGE KINGE
JOHN KINGE
WILLIAM LANE
RICHARD LOFT

JOHN LOUWELL
JOHN LOWLE
AUGUSTIN LYNDON
WILLIAM LYTHERLAND
ERNED MACKKENE
WILLIAM MARBLE
JOHN MARSH
ROBERT MARSHALL
HENRIE MASSON
JACOB MASON
RICHARD MASON
ROBERT MASSON
INCREASE MATHER
JOHN MATHEW
JOHN MAYO
ROBERT MEARES
HENRY MESSINGER
THOMAS MOORE
JOHN MORSE
THOMAS MYLER
BENJAMIN NEGUS
JOHN NEWGATT
JOHN ODLIN
JOHN ORRISE
JOHN PAINE
RICHARD PARKER
RICHARD PEACOCK
SAMUEL PEACOCKE
JOHN PEARCE
WILLIAM PELL
JAMES PENIMANE
JAMES PENN
SETH PERREY
HENRY PHILLIPS
JOHN PHILLIPS
PHILLEP PHILLEPS
WILLIAM PICKERING
PETER PLAICE
ABEL PORTER
EDWARD PORTER
JOHN PORTER
HENRY POWNING
TIMOTHY PRAT
TIMOTHY PROUT
JOHN RATCLIFF
CALEB RAWLINGS
JOSEPH RALLINGS
THOMAS RALLINGS
NATHANIELL RAYNOLLS
ESDRAS READE
WILLIAM READE
JOSHUA RICE
JOHN RICHARDS
RICHARD RICHARDSON
HENRY RUST
WILLIAM SALTER
ROBERT SANDERSON
JOHN SANFORD
HABIJAH SAVAGE
DAVID SAYWELL
JOHN SEARCH
JOHN SHAW
THOMAS SHEARER
BENJAMIN SMITH
RICHARD SMITHE
THOMAS SMYTH
JOHN SNELLING
THOMAS SNOW
JOHN STARR
RICHARD STEPHENS
THOMAS STEPHENS
ANTHONY STODDARD
DANIEL STONE
JOHN STOUDLY
JOHN STRIPPE
JOHN SUNDERLAND
JOSEPH SWETT
JOHN TAPPING
RICHARD TAYLAR
BENJAMIN THURSTON
BENJAMIN THWING
PETER TILL
RICHARD TOUTT
WILLIAM TOWNSEND
RICHARD TRUESDAL
EDWARD TYNG
THOMAS UNDERWOOD
ISAAC VERGOOSS
PETER VERGOOSS
THOMAS WAGGETT
ROBERT WALKER
THOMAS WALKER
BENJAMIN WARD
PETER WARREN
THOMAS WATKINS
RICHARD WAY
GAMALIEL WAYTE
RETURNE WAYTE
JOSEPH WEBB
JOSEPH WEDEN
THOMAS WELLS
JOHN WHITE
WILLIAM WHITE
JOSEPH WILLIAMS
THOMAS WILLIAMS
MICHAEL WILLS

JOHN WINSLOW
JOHN WISWALL
JOHN WITHERDEN
ROBERT WOODMANSEY
NATHANELL WOODWARD
JOHN [ ]
THOMAS [ ]
WALTER [ ]
WILLIAM [ ]

Announcement was made of the appointment of the following Committees:

House Committee: J. COLLINS WARREN, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, and JULIUS H. TUTTLE.

Finance Committee: WINSLOW WARREN, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, and CHARLES P. GREENOUGH.

Committee to publish the *Proceedings:* HENRY CABOT LODGE, JAMES FORD RHODES, and EDWARD STANWOOD.

It was voted that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury, to be expended in such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. LORD, NORCROSS, and KITTREDGE.

JUNE MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. In the absence of the President, the first Vice-President, Mr. WARREN, occupied the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian called attention to a gift from Miss Albertina von Arnim, of Brookline, of more than four hundred volumes on Napoleon. This collection was made by her father, the late Theodore Frederick von Arnim, while preparing his critical study of Ligny and Waterloo, the manuscript of which Miss von Arnim had already given to the Society.[1] Also, the purchase of a collection of more than five hundred and fifty English tracts of the eighteenth century, political and historical, chiefly relating to English and American affairs; and the deposit, by Mrs. Robert Hale Bancroft, of Beverly, of a copy of Rev. John Hale's *Modest Inquiry Into the Nature of Witchcraft*, Boston, 1702.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Miss Albertina von Arnim, six large framed photographs of the Crown Prince, Friedrich Wilhelm, Bismarck, von Moltke, "der Grosse Kurfürst," Friedrich de Grosse, and the crowning of Wilhelm I as Emperor of Germany at Versailles January 18, 1871.

From Mr. George L. Shepley, of Providence, a photograph of a plan of Boston and neighborhood cut on the powder horn by Jesse Starr.[2]

From Mrs. George Arthur Milton, of Waltham, a signed woodcut of the interior of Faneuil Hall, in 1888, by G. E. Johnson.

From Dr. J. Collins Warren, a photograph in 1863, of John Elbridge Hudson (H. C. 1862); and an engraving of Henry Barnard, by H. W. Smith.

From Miss Mary Elizabeth Saunders, of Cambridge, two engravings: one of Franklin, by Michele Pekenino after a miniature

[1] Page 140, *supra*.

[2] Page 334, *infra*.

by Janinet; and the other of John Adams, by James Barton Longacre from a painting after Stuart.

From Mr. Baldwin Coolidge, a photograph of the old house [1] at the corner of Essex and Columbia Streets, said to have been the headquarters of Earl Percy, when the British soldiers marched to Concord and Lexington on the 19th of April, 1775; and a photograph of a silhouette of Col. Loammi Baldwin; a medal of Virchow's eightieth birthday, one of Dr. Hosack, and electrotype of the Lord Baltimore penny, and seventy ancient and modern coins.

From Mrs. George Dexter, a heliotype of Mr. Dexter, formerly Recording Secretary of the Society.

From Dr. Townsend W. Thorndike, a medal of the Aesculapian Club.

From Mrs. James Goldthwaite Freeman, and Miss Case, a pack of Spanish playing cards made in Cadiz, Spain, in 1849.

From Mr. A. J. Morse, of Northampton, a medal of the Three County Fair Association, of Worcester.

From Mr. John E. Morse, of Hadley, a medal of the Worcester Light Infantry, three Rebellion envelopes, and four notes of Bigelow, Morse & Company, Marlborough, 1862.

From Mr. George C. Arnold, of Providence, a twenty-five cent scrip issued by White and Hill on the Indian Head Bank, Nashua, N. H., October 1, 1862.

From Mr. Norcross, a photograph taken May, 1919, of the captive balloon used in the Victory Loan drive; a medal of the American Fund for the French Wounded; a bronze medal, designed by Boisseau in 1915, struck to commemorate the defence of Belgium; a bronze badge of the Annual Congress of the Sons of the American Revolution, at Detroit, May 18–20, 1919; and two pieces of fractional currency, five cents of July 17, 1862, and ten cents of March 3, 1863.

Dr. STORER stated that the Society acquires by purchase an important collection of private scrip issued by corporations in Massachusetts in the civil war. Owing to the scarcity, almost complete disappearance of specie, even of copper coins, from circulation, business firms resorted to this expedient for a circulating medium. This collection, formed by Mr. Harry A. Gray, contains 335 varieties of these rare and ephemeral issues, and in a number of cases has the notes printed in sheets, that is, before being put in circulation. As a collection it approaches, if indeed it does not attain, completeness. The subject will

[1] Drake's *Landmarks of Boston* (1900), 410.

bear a closer study, for the Society thus acquires what is probably the best collection in that particular line.

The Society has also purchased the collection of Pine Tree Coins of Massachusetts-Bay colony, begun some forty years ago by Dr. Edward Hall, and increased by accessions from other hands. The collection numbers 150 pieces, some of great rarity, and is remarkable as well for its size and varieties as for the condition of the coins, many of them being "museum specimens." [1] By the acquisition of these two collections and by recent large additions to its series of Massachusetts notes, colonial and other, the Society now possesses what may with confidence be described as by far the largest known collection of Massachusetts coins, medals and paper money — colonial, state, corporation and private issues. It only remains to cover the bills of broken banks of Massachusetts, to obtain the full record of a most vital chapter of social and economic history, not of Massachusetts alone, but of every State in the Union where paper issues have been made.

Mr. Bowditch deposited, as a loan to the Society by his niece, Miss Mary O. Bowditch, bronze casts of the life-mask and hands of Abraham Lincoln, the moulds of which were made in 1860 by Leonard W. Volk, the sculptor, who afterwards made a bust and two full-length statues of Lincoln.

Mr. Volk wrote an article entitled "The Lincoln Life-Mask and how it was made" which was published in the *Century Magazine*, December, 1881, from which I make the following extracts:

Mr. Volk met Mr. Lincoln in March, 1860, in Chicago and made an appointment for him at Volk's studio. Mr. Volk says:

> He sat naturally in the chair when I made the cast, and saw every move I made in a mirror opposite, as I put the plaster on without interference with his eyesight or his free breathing through the nostrils. It was about an hour before the mould was ready to be removed, and, being all in one piece, with both ears perfectly taken, it clung pretty hard, as the cheek-bones were higher than the jaws at the lobe of the ear. He bent his head low and took hold of the mould, and gradually worked it off without breaking or injury; it hurt a

[1] Tables of the varieties of Pine Tree coins are in Crosby, *Early Coins of America*, 56, 57.

little, as a few hairs of the tender temples pulled out with the plaster and made his eyes water.

On Saturday, June 7, 1860, Mr. Lincoln received the Committee, who had been appointed to notify him of his nomination to the Presidency. The next day Mr. Volk went to his house in Springfield and gives an account of his interview as follows:

By previous appointment I was to cast Mr. Lincoln's hands on the Sunday following this memorable Saturday, at nine A. M. I found him ready, but he looked more grave and serious than he had appeared on the previous days. I wished him to hold something in his right hand, and he looked for a piece of pasteboard, but could find none. I told him that a round stick would do as well as anything. Thereupon he went to the wood-shed, and I heard the saw go, and he soon returned to the dining-room (where I did the work) whittling off the end of a piece of broom-handle. I remarked to him that he need not whittle off the edges.

"Oh, well," said he, "I thought I would like to have it nice."

When I had successfully cast the mould of the right hand, I began the left, pausing a few moments to hear Mr. Lincoln tell me about a scar on the thumb.

"You have heard that they call me a rail-splitter, and you saw them carrying rails in the procession Saturday evening; well, it is true that I did split rails, and one day, while I was sharpening a wedge on a log, the ax glanced and nearly took my thumb off, and there is the scar, you see."

The right hand appeared swollen as compared with the left, on account of excessive hand-shaking the evening before; this difference is distinctly shown in the cast."

These casts were given by Mr. Truman H. Bartlett to Miss Bowditch's father, the late Alfred Bowditch.

The following is the statement of Mr. Bartlett in regard to the casts:

We owe the existence of the Lincoln Life-Mask to the fact that it saved Lincoln from giving Volk more sittings than he could in Chicago, and not because Volk regarded Lincoln's face as having any special merit. It is difficult to estimate how much he got out of it when making the bust, but the faces of the two statues that Volk made subsequently show that he did not take advantage of the

exceptional qualities of the mask, nor has he left any record that he cared for the mask save as a professional enterprise.

Soon after Volk had completed his statues in 1889 and having no further need of the mask, he rented it for a royalty to a Chicago plaster moulder to reproduce in various materials. In this way many copies were scattered in the West and two copies got to New York, where one of these was seen by the late R. W. Gilder, editor of the *Century Magazine*. He became greatly interested and we formed a Committee to buy the original copy as well as a duplicate in bronze. This scheme included the hands, both in plaster and bronze. Thirty-three persons subscribed $1500 and deposited all of them in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington under the conditions that no copies of any of them should be made until ten years had passed. This agreement also included an original mould of both mask and hands that Volk had made in Rome in 1870–1.

The Institution will, as a favor, sell copies from the original moulds, but they are so poorly done by an inferior workman that I refused to buy copies. The Institution will not have a new and good mould made, so that it is now impossible to get a good copy of either the mask or the hands.

Each one of the thirty-three subscribers retained either a plaster copy of the mask or had one cast in bronze. Mr. Drake, the art editor of the *Century*, had a bronze cast made and, at his death-sale of art objects, this copy was sold at auction for $181. The Athenæum of Boston owns one of the plaster copies, an extremely poor one.

I saw the original plaster in Volk's studio in Rome in 1870–1, and was so impressed by it that I asked for a copy. He refused, declaring that no one without a copy could make a statue of Lincoln. In the early 70's Volk sent a copy made in Rome to his son in Paris, then a pupil of Gérome, the French painter. I learned of it and Gérome gave it to me and I had it cast in bronze. This is the origin of the one given to Mr. Alfred Bowditch.

Mr. Bartlett states further that he sold a bronze cast which he had had made of the face to Miss Annette P. Rogers and that a bronze cast of one of the hands is owned by Richard Fuller of Boston.

Dr. SHATTUCK presented to the Society a copy of *The History of the Schuylkill Fishing Company*, 1782–1888.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Albert J. Beveridge, accepting his election as a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The Editor reported the following gifts:

From the Estate of Samuel Savage Shaw, through Miss Josephine MacC. Shaw, a large number of letters, account books, and other records from the Shaw family. The nature of this gift is too general easily to be summarized in a few words. Beginning with the first years of the eighteenth they extend beyond the middle of the nineteenth century, and include a number of divisions — Cargill, Melville, Thacher and Shaw papers — commercial, legal and family documents. The Cargills were merchants in Boston and Bristol, England, and Thomas Melville was one of the "Boston Tea Party" Indians. Beginning with Oakes Shaw the letters cover each generation to the death of Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw, to whom the larger part of the collection pertains. This gift naturally strengthens the Society in Boston and Massachusetts material, containing, for example, the papers of the Scotch Charity Box (or Society), which existed in Boston in the middle of the eighteenth century.

From Mrs. Sarah Lucy Loy and Miss Hannah Lois Houghton, surviving sisters of Mrs. Clarence J. Blake, a commission, dated 1728 and signed by Governor Burnet, United States land warrants, 1851, sale of a lot in the "German Quincy Homestead Lands" at Dedham, and other papers.

From Mrs. Lidian Emerson Bridge, further papers, foreign and American, bearing on the discovery and application of ether by Dr. Charles T. Jackson.

On deposit: By Edward Gray, of Milton, six account books of Elisha Story (1743–1805) of Boston, Malden and Marblehead, of the years 1766–1779, and 1796–1803; and a ledger, 1778–1805, of particular interest for the method of entry during the war period: "May, 1780. My accounts are all kept in silver money until April 1, 1780, then in paper money as it depreciated till May 18, 1780; from that time in specie." Also his record of names and ages of persons inoculated on two days, November 11 and 12, 1800 — upwards of one thousand names. Elisha Story was father of Justice Story.

Herbert Albert Laurens Fisher, of Sheffield, England, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The Vice-President reported the death of Dean George Hodges, a Resident Member.

Mr. FROTHINGHAM spoke on the man and his work in ministry and teaching.

Mr. WINSLOW WARREN read a paper on

Governor Edward Winslow.

The near approach of the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth increases our interest in that important event and our desire to know, so far as the paucity of material allows, the influences which affected the minds and governed the actions of the Pilgrims. Many books have been published concerning them and all travel over what is now pretty familiar ground. Prof. Roland G. Usher of St. Louis has recently added a new and interesting contribution, after a careful study of religious questions of the time in England, and of the progress of the Puritan movement.

His words are entitled to consideration, yet a tendency to novel theories and a quiet satisfaction which he evidently takes in differing from other Pilgrim historians, allow us to question two of his statements, the first as to the nature of the persecution to which the Pilgrims were subjected in England, and second as to his estimate of the relative importance of the leaders in Plymouth.

With some elaboration, Professor Usher contends that historians are wrong in claiming that the persecution and harassment of the Pilgrims in England was by the Church authorities, and maintains that it was by the people of their neighborhood or the local magistrates, with whom such radical views were unpopular.

In view of the fact that the Pilgrims of Scrooby and Austerfield were of the plain people, and that with that class, comprising as it did the greater part of the population of the neighborhood, there was great sympathy for their views, it is pretty difficult to find evidence of hostility other than from the Church and Crown authorities.

The rabble which robbed and maltreated them in their flight to Holland were not of the kind to be much troubled about religious views and, so far as anything affected them except love of plunder, it is much more likely that it was the encouragement and instigation of higher authorities; nor can we have much doubt that the same influences moved the local magistrates, for history records that the Boston authorities were rather kindly in their treatment and inclined to favor the Pil-

grims as far as they were able to without getting into trouble with the ruling powers.

There is an inherent improbability, while in other parts of England persecution of dissentients by the Church was active and constant — thousands having been punished and some executed — that in this particular region where reform feeling was quite as strong as in other parts of England, the people and not the Church should have assumed the role of persecutors of their own neighbors. Professor Usher admits that the Archbishop of York had full jurisdiction in religious matters in that district, and from what we know of him it requires a vivid stretch of the imagination to believe that he would have overlooked or dared to overlook, or in any way to favor, a radical set of dissentients whose doctrines were so abhorrent, and in his view so dangerous to Church and State, and it is equally hard to believe that under existing circumstances and with such a man in authority the local magistrates acted upon their own instigation.

Certainly, later on, neither Church nor Crown overlooked these men in Holland, nor did they neglect to harass them in any way that the laws of Holland permitted, even going so far as to attempt the arrest of Brewster there for obnoxious publications, and the hostile attitude of the Government is indicated by the fact that when the Pilgrims sought a resting place in New England, no assent could ever be obtained from the King that they might even there worship God in their own way.

But fortunately we are not left to conjecture in this matter, the official records of the Ecclesiastical Court of York tell the story and show plainly enough who were behind the persecutions. A recent writer in the London *Spectator* quotes freely from those records, and complete investigation would undoubtedly furnish more material, but what is given by the writer answers fully the theory of Professor Usher. In the records are found numerous entries of punishment of the men of Scrooby and other towns in the neighborhood for religious offences. For instance, there is the return of the Archbishop of York in 1607 of the punishment of Richard Jackson for his disobedience in matters of religion; of William Brewster for the same offence, and also for being a Brownist; and in the following Spring, of fines imposed upon Richard Jackson (who

seems to have been incorrigible) and of William Brewster and Robert Rochester of Scrooby for being Brownists and Separatists. And moreover the Archbishop himself reported to the Lords of Council the fining and commitment of Brewster, Bradford, and others when they attempted to escape to Holland. It would be difficult to find more conclusive evidence that the Archbishop kept his hand well in in these matters, and the inference is not a forced one that the Church was surely behind those local magistrates who acted in the arrests and prosecutions.

It is true that Bradford and Winslow in their story of the Pilgrims do not appear to have thought it necessary specifically to refer to the Church as the persecuting body; a fact that was so self evident and so manifest in all parts of England, probably did not seem to them to require mention; but if there really was hostility on the part of the people of the vicinity, it is singular that not the slightest trace of it appears in such writings, and that on the contrary they should have spoken in a pleasant manner of the general attitude of friendship on the part of the people of Boston, where the Pilgrims suffered the greatest hardships.

We can safely leave this question to evidence furnished by the records of the Archbishopric of York, and of the Council as well as to the universal judgment of Pilgrim historians, English and American, and turn our attention to another statement of Professor Usher, that the two great leaders of the Pilgrims in Plymouth were Bradford and Standish. Admitting to the full the importance of Standish's services, his business ability and the faithful service he rendered as treasurer of the Colony, it yet remains clear from the Pilgrim records that next to Bradford the leader upon whom they relied for the most difficult and perplexing negotiations was Edward Winslow. No one disputes Bradford's pre-eminence and the value of his sound judgment and executive capacity, nor would any one deny the importance of Standish's military service, but he was of somewhat choleric temper and hasty judgment and was far from possessing the diplomatic skill, the tact, and well-balanced judgment imperatively needed for the success of the settlement. These were found exemplified to a remarkable degree in Winslow and account for the many difficult duties

imposed upon him by the Pilgrims as their agent in the adjustment of religious disputes and business questions, and in questions relating to their Charter in England. For so young a man with so little experience he showed unusual diplomatic talent and acquaintance with human nature, and it was largely on account of these qualities combined with great business efficiency that he was four times sent to England as the colony agent, was almost invariably their agent in dealing with the Indians as well as with the other Colonies, was their commissioner in reference to confederation of the colonies, their assistant governor and several years the governor of the colony in succession to Governor Bradford.

The judgment of the Pilgrims in this matter is so unmistakable, and so thoroughly endorsed by Pilgrim historians, that it is worth while to consider some of the details of the career of a man who presents such a singularly picturesque figure against the rather homely background of Pilgrim life, and who appears so continuously in their early history as a conspicuous and interesting element.

His life is the more attractive from the peculiar mystery that attaches to his first connection with the Pilgrims and to his earlier days before he became a member of a religious body that one would have thought was entirely apart from his habit of mind and training, for neither he nor his family are known to have previously had any connection with the Puritan movement in England; nor can it be said that we have exact information as to his own religious views other than that he was a man of great piety, that he at an early age earnestly attached himself to the small body of devout men at Leyden, and showed his faith by active participation in all their proceedings at Leyden and concerning the removal to Plymouth, and later rendered invaluable service in the hearings and disputes in England on their religious views and actions, and was their devoted partisan in a number of very able and important religious publications.

We have no knowledge of his boyhood training other than the unauthenticated tradition of his education at Cambridge.

We first meet him as a young man of twenty-two, of education and of good address; a member of a family well known and of high standing in Worcestershire, who, while travelling

for pleasure on the Continent, and presumably of some means, fell in with the Pilgrims at Leyden and joined them there in 1617. He is said to have been attracted by John Robinson's scholarly preaching, but as he married a young Pilgrim maiden at Leyden, Elizabeth Barker, soon after becoming a member of the congregation, it may be that he found other attractions besides the preaching.

We next find him upon the *Mayflower*, a signer of the compact at Provincetown, third after Carver and Bradford, a member of the exploring expeditions on Cape Cod, and one of the party that landed on Plymouth Rock, Dec. 11 (21) 1620.

The first winter in Plymouth, though uncommonly mild, was fatal to the Pilgrims, one-half of their number perishing, probably as the result of the cold and exposure of the voyage, and among them the young wife of Winslow. In a few months he married Susannah White, the widow of William White, who had died in the winter, and as this was the first marriage in Plymouth, so also was it remarkable that Susannah Winslow was the mother of the first English child born in Plymouth, Peregrine White, and later of the first New England born governor, Josiah Winslow. Though the period of mourning seems short, it is not to be judged by modern standards and conditions, but by the circumstances and limited accommodations of the Pilgrims, which rendered it practically impossible for a woman to live there alone and unprotected, and made it equally advisable for the men to marry.

In those first years in Plymouth, Winslow seems to have been of a somewhat more genial nature and with more knowledge of the world, young as he was, than the rest of the Pilgrim membership, and to present a rather different and more attractive type of character. A portrait of him exists in Pilgrim Hall in Plymouth, painted by an unknown artist in England in 1651; yet a study of it does not give the impression of a stern and rigid Puritan, but rather of a well-to-do man of affairs, with a firm mouth and a pleasant expression of countenance. His letters and publications — more especially his early work, the *Good News from New England* — indicate scholarship, quite a vivid imagination and no little poetic fancy.

It must be admitted, however, that in his later writings after his final return to England, his style became at times more

harsh and severe. Either as the result of his rude treatment by some of the authorities in England, of the bitter controversies there and in Plymouth with the numerous opponents of the Pilgrims, or of the hard and trying experiences of life in Plymouth, he lost much of the genial characteristics of his early career and became distinctly more harsh and intolerant. In that he appears to have been not alone however, for there are indications that others of the Pilgrim body grew harder and narrower as they grew older, and it is an interesting speculation whether that was in any degree owing to the frequent communications and disputes with the more severe type in Boston, or to their natural feeling that the newer arrivals in Plymouth were not altogether in harmony with the religious views of the older men, and yet were gaining ascendency there.

One indication of this change may be found in the controversy in Plymouth in 1645 over the petition of Vassal and others for legal toleration of men of every religious belief who would "preserve the civil peace and submit unto government, Turks, Jews, Papists, Arians, Socinians, Nicholaytons, Familists or any other." This was regarded by the older men as a dangerous innovation, and though in the absence of any religious qualifications for voting in Plymouth, it received strong support, being advocated by Standish, Hatherly, Brown and Freeman, it was bitterly opposed by Bradford, Winslow, Prence and Collier, and finally shelved by pretty sharp Parliamentary tactics suggested by Winslow. Considering the latter's earlier characteristics, and in view of the fact that the petition would seem to have been pretty directly in the line of Pastor Robinson's teachings, it sounds strange to read Winslow's words concerning it: "You would have admired to have seen how sweet this carrion relished to the palates of most of the deputies — if we have such a judgment what will be the issue of these things one all ordering only knows but for this place I trust we shall find (I speak for many of us that groan under these things) a resting place among you for the soles of our feet."

The petition was renewed in Boston but there it met a worse fate for the petitioners were fined and punished; then it was carried to England where Winslow opposed it in 1648, and wrote home that "their hopes and endeavors had been blasted by the special providence of the Lord, who still wrought for us."

The change in his nature seems to be further marked at this time by a certain spirit of restlessness which came over him, in part may be owing to his frequent trips to England and intercourse with prominent people there and not unlikely to his increasing intimacy with Winthrop and other noted Bostonians, leading possibly to a realization of a broader field of work in Boston or England. This probably influenced him in the acceptance of the agency in England of the Massachusetts colony in 1646, which though it concerned matters in which Plymouth was much interested was not approved of there, his departure being deplored by Bradford as a serious blow to the colony.

The mission, however, was a success, though Boston niggardly rewarded him for his services. He was very active in England, vigorously defended the religious views and activities of the colonies, published very able pamphlets in reply to attacks upon them, and showed great business ability. While there he also issued a pamphlet with extracts from Eliot and Mayhew entitled *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel among the Indians*, and took a leading part in founding in England the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians and in securing funds for its endowment.

But his most effective work there for both the colonies, was the publication of two pamphlets reviewing in a striking manner the aims and religious principles of the colonists, and replying with scorching sarcasm to attacks upon them. One entitled *Hypocrisie Unmasked* was in answer to Samuel Gorton, one of the bitterest as well as ablest of the enemies of the colonies, and the other in reply to Dr. Childs entitled *New England's Salamander Discovered by an Irreligious and Scornful Pamphlet.* The first one contained an appendix entitled "A Brief Narration" which purports among other things to give Robinson's remarkable farewell sermon upon the departure of the Pilgrims from Delft Haven, and is in quite a different style from the caustic severity of the other pamphlets. Governor Winthrop's estimate of the capacity of Winslow and his special fitness for this agency appears in his *Life and Letters.* When speaking of the choice of Winslow he writes that he himself declined the appointment, "The Court having made choice of Mr. Edward Winslow as a fit man to be employed in our present affairs in England, both of regard of his abilities, of presence,

speech, courage and understanding, as also being well known to the Commissioners, having suffered a few years before imprisonment by means of the last Arch Prelate (Laud) in the cause of New England."

And further testimony appears in a pamphlet by Samuel Maverick written in 1660, which is of the more effect because of Maverick's bitter hostility. "They (the Colonists) sending home hither one Edward Winslow, a smooth tongued, cunning fellow, who soon got himself into favor of those in supreme power, against whom it was in vain to strive, and so they (the opponents of the Colonists) remained sufferers to this day."

Winslow stayed in England upwards of six years, but his thoughts were tending towards a return to Plymouth when Cromwell in 1652, appreciating his great abilities, made him chairman of a joint English and Dutch commission to award damages to the former power for destruction of her vessels by the Dutch.

This position he filled so acceptably that he was appointed one of the commissioners to the West Indies, with General Venable and Admiral Penn, and also Governor of Hispaniola, but died upon the voyage to the latter place in 1655. One of the party upon this expedition wrote of Winslow's death:

> The Eighth of May far from Spanish Shore
> God took from us our Grand Commissioner
> Winslow by name — a man of cheerful trust
> Whose life was sweet and conversation just
> Whose parts and wisdom most men did excel
> An honor to his place as all can tell.

Any sketch of the life of Edward Winslow, however brief, is incomplete without special reference to his consummate skill and tact in dealing with the Indians in the vicinity of Plymouth. The Indian was the great problem for the Pilgrim in the early years of the settlement. As a friend he was not over reliable and as an enemy always treacherous, yet the very existence of the Colony depended upon keeping on good terms with him. This required no common skill in diplomacy and a personal influence that few men could exert. The actively hostile Indians were fortunately few in number, and they could be dealt with by military force, but the larger body of them had to be treated with consideration and kept in good humor with-

out being encouraged to such intimacy as would make them an annoyance to the settlement.

The winter of 1621 was hardly over when it was announced that Massasoit, with a considerable party of Indians, was on Watson's Hill adjoining the settlement, seeking an interview. Whether they were friendly or hostile was quite unknown, and in the weakened state of the Pilgrims it was not desirable to expose to the Indians too openly their condition. Much depended upon this first meeting, and Winslow was selected to undertake the hazardous errand to the Indian Camp and ascertain their temper and arrange for an interview. He accordingly crossed to the Hill, through an Indian interpreter soon ingratiated himself with the Indians, and remained there as a hostage while careful preparations were made to receive Massasoit and some of the chiefs in Plymouth. The result was extremely satisfactory to both parties, and cordial relations were established with Massasoit which were never disturbed thereafter.

In July of that year, when it was deemed wise to return Massasoit's visit and also to ascertain the temper of certain other Indian tribes, Winslow was selected and travelled through the wilderness for forty miles with Squanto, an Indian interpreter, to Massasoit's camp at Sowams, now the town of Warren. After several days' stay there, subjected to a good deal of discomfort, although received by the Indians in a very friendly way, he returned to Plymouth bringing information of an important character.

The next two years he was engaged on exploring expeditions along the shore to the Indians near Boston, and to the Kennebec, and in the busy home tasks of guarding and locating the Plymouth settlement, and in composing the Pilgrims' business affairs with the Merchant Adventurers in England, which had drifted into a rather unsatisfactory condition.

In 1623, Massasoit sent for Winslow saying that he was dangerously ill. Winslow set out again for Sowams, found Massasoit suffering from what appears to have been an acute attack of indigestion, ministered to him with considerable medical skill, and having relieved his trouble returned to Plymouth to the great regret of the Indians, who, with many protestations of friendship, urged him to make a longer stay. It

may be mentioned here as showing how cordial the relations became with the Indians, that long after this two dying chiefs requested that they might be buried at the feet of their good friend Governor Bradford.

There was an interesting incident upon Winslow's return journey from Massasoit's camp not without a certain picturesqueness and evincing a shrewd knowledge of human nature. He determined to go and spend the night with an Indian chief named Corbitant, who was known to be hostile, and was accounted a sly and noted politician. He accordingly ventured, at great risk, to his wigwam and claimed his hospitality. His reception was not unfriendly and the evening was spent in earnest and interesting conversation, Corbitant proving no mean an antagonist. A portion of the conversation has been related by Winslow, only increasing our regret that he did not give fuller details of what was evidently a sharp and amusing contest of wits between the sturdy and accomplished Pilgrim and the wily but suspicious chief. An entertaining fragment we have when Corbitant asked why when he went to Plymouth the Pilgrims received him with loaded muskets on their shoulders, and Winslow having replied, with something of a stretch of the Pilgrim conscience, that it was the custom of Englishmen to receive distinguished visitors by presenting arms, Corbitant quietly added in a dry way, "I like not that form of salutation." Corbitant also was awkwardly inquisitive as to whether if he had been the sick man Winslow would have come to see him as readily as to Massasoit.

Altogether it must have been a spicy interview, but it was a tactful move on Winslow's part and worth the risk, for it resulted in a somewhat more friendly attitude on Corbitant's part, and relieved the anxieties of the Pilgrims as to trouble from that quarter.

There were other negotiations with different Indian tribes, all of them entrusted to Winslow, and for more than fifty years there were no considerable difficulties with the Indians.

The limits of this paper do not allow particular reference to the many agencies and commissionerships imposed by the Pilgrims upon Winslow, nor to his services abroad, or as governor and assistant governor, but the number and importance of them shows the Pilgrim reliance upon him, for they required diversi-

fied talents, business knowledge and experience, diplomatic skill, a thorough knowledge of human nature and an unusual capacity for dealing with the wild men of the forest and the accomplished leaders of men in England as well as in the neighboring colony of Massachusetts.

It seems a special Providence that the disastrous first winter with its severe mortality spared all the great leaders except Carver, and that Bradford, Winslow, Brewster and Standish remained to guide the colony through its early perils and establish it upon an enduring basis.

That Pilgrim historians endorse the Pilgrim estimate of Winslow can be shown by numerous citations, and of these I will cite a few, representative of the general judgment.

Mr. Winslow, who had been chosen agent for the colony to answer to Gorton's complaint, was now instructed to make defence against these petitioners, and by his prudent management and the credit and esteem he was in with many of the members of Parliament and principal persons then in power, he prevented any prejudice to the Colony from either of those applications. (Hutchinson.)

Edward Winslow was a gentleman of consummate address, strictly virtuous principles and fervent piety, although his intercourse with the world and with the best society in England had worn off that austerity and simplicity of manners so characteristic of the Puritans, his devotion was not the less sincere because his manners were more cheerful. . . . The Colony owed to Winslow a debt of gratitude, for in devotion and zeal for her interests he was excelled by no one. (Baylies.)

Edward Winslow may not inaptly be denominated as the head of the emigration as Miles Standish was its right hand. Upon these two men appears to have devolved most of the active external service of the Colony. Winslow's province being that of negotiating the business, while to the valiant Miles was entrusted its military defense. (Bartlett.)

Other writers are of the same import, and I close with another general appreciation of the man:

How could their difficulties with the Merchant Adventurers have been adjusted without the diplomacy, skill, tact and talent of Gov. Winslow — He was a splendid, well bred gentleman — personally made a journey of forty miles to help and nurse the sick Massasoit, and his journals and writings show him to have been an accomplished author.

I am aware that in what I have written there is no new material about the Pilgrims, as I have said that ground has been thoroughly gleaned; but an old story may be newly told in an attempt to do historical justice to one of my own ancestors.

The Club of Odd Volumes, of Boston, deposited, through Mr. WINSHIP, a copy of the records of the Club from 1887 to 1908.

A POWDER-HORN SHOWING BOSTON

The sketch of Boston and its environs here reproduced is on a powder-horn in the possession of Col. George L. Shepley, of Providence, Rhode Island, by whose courtesy it appears in the *Proceedings*. Of Jesse Starr, who etched the plan, nothing is known apart from his service in the Continental army. He was a private in the Tenth Company of Colonel Parsons' regiment, May 8 to December 18, 1775, called into service for the siege of Boston. On the reorganization of that regiment he entered the company commanded by Captain Isaac Gallup, which after the evacuation of Boston went to New York and in August took part in the battle of Long Island and subsequent operations, being finally stationed near Peekskill, under Major General Heath. Some months after the expiration at the end of the year of his term of enlistment Starr again engaged for three years, and was a corporal in Captain Thomas Wooster's company, enlisting as such April 23, 1777, sergeant, October 9, 1778 and discharged April 23, 1780. As the officers in the first regiment in which he enlisted in 1775 were from Groton, Connecticut, he probably came from that town.

SAMUEL SEWALL, MERCHANT

The following are taken from a volume of printed receipts filled in by Samuel Sewall, and show his mercantile interests more fully than does his *Diary*. The entry for November 8, 1688, illustrates the means of paying the expenses of his visit to England, a merchant's bill being unobtainable, and a letter of credit unknown.

1683, *December* 6. Shipped by Captain Elisha Hutchinson and Company and Stephen Sewall, "for their own proper Accompts,"

BROOKLINE
POXBURY
JESSE STAN
CASTLE ISLAND

in the *Adventure*, John Balston, master, to Thomas Dean, merchant, London: "Four Hundred and ninety four Ounces and one Half Ounce of Plate, in two great Lumps and three small pieces." Freight, one per cent, with Primage and Average accustomed."

December 7. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, in the same ship, "Four Hundred and thirty five ounces and one Quarter of an ounce of Plate in one entire Piece in a Bagg," to John Ive, merchant, London, same freight.

1685, *November* 16. Shipped by Samuel Sewall and Company, "for our owne proper Acco't" in the ketch *Endeavor*, Caleb Phillips, master, bound for Port Royal, Jamaica: "twenty five bbls. of macril and sixetene bbls. of Porke and eight halfe bbls. of Dit, ten bbls. of tar sixe Boxes of candles, one Pipe of wine, sixetene hogsheads of Codfish sixe thousand hhde Staues five bbls. of Sidar three barrels of unyons one bbl. of apples. Freight, "fifty shillings per tun for the bbls and three pounds ten Shillings per tun for the hhds and soe the rest proportionable."

1686, *July* 15. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, "for the proper Accot and Resqe of Mr. William Sellers," in the *Two Brothers* William Welstead, master, to William Sellars, merchant, London: "twenty fower barrels of oyle and thirty nine ounces and a halfe of pillar and maxic pieces of Eight 39d ½. Freight, three pounds two Shillings and Sixepence per tun and one per C. for the pieces of Eight." Welstead receipts as follows: "The money Receid. contents of the other unknowne."

July 15. By the same, "for my owne proper Accot," on the same ship, to Edward Hull of London, "one Boxe of Beuar." Freight, "two shillings and Sixe pence." "Contents unknowne."

August 24. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, "for his own Accot and Risque," in the catch, *Fidelity*, Nathaniel Man, master, to William Huchinson and Pulford, Jamaica: "Fourty Six Barrels of Mackerell, and Twelve Hogsheds of Cod-fish." Freight, "eight and fourty shillings Barrels and Hogshed sixty five shillings per Tun." "The Cwanty Rescued inwardly onknon."

1687: *April* 18. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, "for my owne proper Accot," in the *Mary and Elizabeth*, Nathaniel Cary, master, to William Hutchinson and William Pulsford, Jamaica: "forty barrels of macrill Sixe hoggsheads of Codfish and forty Eight barrels of tar." Freight, "twenty two pounds and one Shilling."

October 12. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, in the *James*, Job Prince, master, for Jamaica: "Eight hogsheads of Bass Fish." Freight, "six pounds ten shilling mony."

November 10. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, "for my own proper

accott and Risque," in the ketch *Fidelity*, Nathaniel Man,[1] master, to John Short and Company, Bilboa: "two Hundred sixty seven quintalls and a half of good Merchantable cod fish." Freight, "a piece of Eight per Quintal old pay."

November —. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own accounts, in the ketch *Endeavour*, Nicholas Bow, master, to Thomas Marshall, St. Christophers: "six barrells of pickled bas and two barrells of Macirill and three hogsheds of bread and pease and one barrell of bread and pease." Freight, "four pounds ten shillings."

November 28. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the *Mary and Elizabeth*, Richard Foster, master, to Nathaniel Dwight, Barbados: "ten barrells of pickled Bass-fish and six hogsheds of dry Bass-fish and two hogsheds of cod Fish." Freight, "seven pounds ten shillings."

December 6. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the ketch *Hopwell*, Samuel Veazie, master, to Antigua or Leeward Islands: "eight barrells of mackrill and five hogshetts of Bass fish and one hogshett of Cod fish." Freight, "six pounds ten shillings."

1688, *April* 3. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the pink *Owners Adventure*, Nathaniel Cary, master, to Port Royal, Jamaica: "forty small barrells of tarr thirty two barrells of mackrill one hogsett of bass fish one hogsett of cod fish and bass together, two hogshetts of Codfish, three firkins of butter." Freight, "sixteen pounds eighteen shillings 6*d.*"

April 6. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, "for accot and Risque of Madam Bridget Usher," in the *President*, Arthur Tannar, master, to Madam Usher, London: "sixty nine ⅛ civil [seville], Pillar, and Mexico Pieces of Eight in a Leather Purse, weighing Sixty Ounces." Freight, "one per cent."

May 26. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the ketch *Hopewell*, Samuel Veazie, master, to St. Christophers: "eight barrells of mackrill and one small hogsett of bass fish." Freight, "two pounds ten shillings."

June 9. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the *Elizabeth*, Peter Butler, master, to Nathaniel Thair, Barbados: "twelve barrells of Alewiues." Freight, "three pounds."

June 30. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the ketch *Mehetabell of Boston*, Edward Wanton, master, to Port Royall, Jamaica: "seven barrells of mackrill and one barrell of oyll." Freight, "two pounds ten shillings."

July 10. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the

[1] "March 20, 1689. Fear I shall never hear of Nath. Man, or the *Fidelity* any more." *Diary*, I. 249.

Swan, Andrew Belcher, master, to Edward Hull, London: "Sixty five and ¾ pieces of Eight, Mexico, Sevil, and Pillar, and one Skillet of Silver, all weighing one Hundred Ounces." Freight, "one per cent."

October 9. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the *Mehetabell of Boston*, Gilbert Bant, master, to Edward Hull, London: "five hogsetts of Moloses and two barrells of train oyll." Freight, "fiue pounds seventeen shillings and 6*d*."

November 8. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, in the *America*,[1] William Clarke, master, to "said Sewall" in London: "Two Canvas Baggs; one qt. six hundred seventy five Ounces and a half of fine Silver in three pieces, the other qt. one hundred twenty five and a half Engl Coin and seven Ounces of Dust Gold." Freight, "one per cent."

December 3.[2] Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the sloop *Mary of Boston*, John Peck, master, to Montserrat: "twenty four small barrels tar seven barrells mackrill one half barrell and one barrell of pork one hogsett of pease four hogsetts of Bass fish two barrells oyll two hogsetts of cod fish one hogsett scale fish two barrells cider eighteen hundred and half of reed oak hogsett staves, five thousand and half of long shingles." Freight, "for the staves and shingles one half for the other, and for the other goods ten pound two shillings and 6*d*."

1689, April 2. Shipped by Samuel Sewall for his own account, in *Owners Adventure*, Nathaniel Cary, master, to Port Royal, Jamaica: "ten small barrells of tar, eight barrells of pickled pork, seuen half barrells of pickled pork one box of Candles." Freight, "five pounds."

May 15. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the *Dolphin* of Boston, John Foye, master, to Edward Hull, London: "one terce of horn plattes and twenty four barrells of oyll." Freight, "twelve pound five shillings."

May 11. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the *John James*, Richard Foster, master, to Barbados: "sixty seuen barrells of mackrill." Freight, "sixteen pound fifteen shillings."

June 4. Shipped by Eliakim Mather for the account of Samuel Sewall, in the *Katherine*, John Pullin, master, to Thomas Berry, Port Royal, Jamaica: "fifty barrells of mackrill eighteen barrells of tar

[1] "*October* 10. Went on Board the *America*, Mr. Isaac Addington one of the Owners introducing me: took up the Starboard Cabbin, and when came back, met Capt. Clark and gave him Earnest 20 *s*." *Diary*, 1. 230.

"*November* 13. *America* comes to sail this day, and runs aground as turns up and down but gets off quickly." *Ib.*, 235. Sewall sailed in this vessel for England November 22.

[2] From this point the bills are not in the writing of Sewall.

containing about sixteen gallons each barrell seven thousand long shingles." Freight, "sixteen pound six shillings and for the shingles one half for freight."

June 24. Shipped by Daniel Quincy and Eliakim Mather, for the account of Samuel Sewall and the said Quincy, in the *Blessing*, Samuel Choate, master, to Thomas Berry, Port Royal, Jamaica: "three barrells of mackrill, ten barrells of pickled pork and two half barrells pickled pork." Freight, "four pounds seven shillings and 6*d*."

June 26. Shipped by Eliakim Mather, for the account of Samuel Sewall, in the *Richard*, William Harris, master, to Edward Hull, London: "twenty barrells of oyll." Freight, "ten pounds." [Four of the barrells were for account of Daniel Quincy.]

June 20. Shipped by Eliakim Mather, for the account of Samuel Sewall, in the *Prudent Sarah* of Boston, Benjamin Gillam, master, to Edward Hull, London: "eleven barrells of oyll." Freight, "five pounds ten shillings."

July 1. Shipped by Eliakim Mather, for the account of Samuel Sewall, in the *Samuel and Mary* of Boston, John Herbert, master, to Edward Hull, London: twenty four barrells of oyll four hogsetts of Melasses one hogsett one terce of Muscauado sugar." Freight, "nineteen pounds ten shillings." [Four of the barrels of oil were for account of Daniel Quincy.]

July 6. Shipped by Eliakim Mather, for the account of Samuel Sewall, in the ketch *Industry* of Salem, Jonathan Flint, master, to Edward Hull, London: three barrells of oyll twelve Loggs of Logwood weighing five hundred pound grose a small blue bagg of Endigoe weighing bagg and all sixteen pound three quarters." Freight, "two pounds one shilling three pence." [1]

August 9. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the *Two Brothers*, George Lason, master, to William Baron and Jonathan Short, Bilboa: "one Hundred Kentals of marchandable Cod fish." Freight, "Eleauen rialls plate per Kentall." This ship was in the harbor of Marblehead.

October 28. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the *Owners Adventure*, Joseph Buckley, master, to Port Royal, Jamaica: "Eleven barrells of Mackrill one barrell of pickled pork, one hogsett of bread and pease, three hogsetts of Cod Fish." Freight, "eight pounds ten shillings."

November 11. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the *Boston Merchant*, Giles Fifield, master, to Barbados: "three hogs-

[1] From this point the bills are in the writing of Samuel Sewall, signed by the respective masters of the ships.

etts of Scale Fish and one hogsett of Bass Fish." Freight, "three pounds Five shillings."

1690. *March* 27. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the *America* of Boston, Hugh Sampson, master, to Edward Hull, London: "sixteen barrells of oyll." Freight "twelve pounds."

August 29. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the Brigateen *Friendship*, Nathaniel Green, Jr., master, to Barbados: "thirty two Barrells of Mackarell." Freight, "Fifty shillings per Tun."

August 29. Shipped by Anna Quincy, widow, for her own account, on the same vessel, to Barbados: "Eleven Barrels of Mackarell."

November 24. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the ketch *Adventure*, Samuel Winkley, master, to Eliakim Mather, Jamaica: "Seven Barrells of Pork, and fourty Barrels of Mackarell." Freight, "Twenty Three pounds eighteen shillings and nine pence."

October 9. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the ketch *Hopewell*, Samuel Veazie, master, to Antigua: "Thirty Barrels of Mackarell, and two Bundles of Shingles." Freight, "after the rate of three pounds ten shillings per Tun."

1691, *January* 16. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the *Richard*, William Clarke, master, to Barbados, the Leeward Islands or Jamaica: "Eight and twenty barrels of Macarell." Freight, "Three pounds per Tun." Endorsed: "The 28 barr. of mackarell within Menchond being sold in barbados by William Clark for the account within and bils of Exne sent for London for 24 *l* ster. drawne by Capt. Edmon Scroope one Mr. John Cary payabell at 30 days sight to Mr. Jno. Ive in London and the balens shipt for Boston in Mony one bord Sam'll Duck, and taken by a french Man of warr. December 17th, 1691." Signed, SAM. SEWALL.

May 9. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the *James*, Job Prince, master, to Eliakim Mather, Port Royal, Jamaica: "Eight Barrels and one half Barrel of Pork And Three Barrels and one half Barrel of Beef." Freight, "Six pounds ten shilings."

November 20. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the *Pomgranat*, John Ingersoll, master, to Bilbao: "One Hundred Quintals of Merchantable Winter and Spring Cod-Fish." Freight, "fourteen Reals and an half plate new Money per Quintal."

1695, *October* 28. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, in the *Unity*, Edmond Clarke, master, to Edward Hull, London: "one bag qts. Two hundred and Eighty foure ounces one quarter of Coyn'd Silver, being for the Redemption of a young man named Antho: Haywood, now a Slave at Salley." Freight, "one and halfe per Cent."

November 21. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, in the *John and Samuell*, Josiah Eldridge, master, to Edward Hull, London: "one Bage of Eaigty five ounces Coin'd Silver being for the Redemtion of Anthony Haywood a Slave in Salley." No freight specified.[1]

1696, *September* 23. Shipped by Samuel Sewall, for his own account, in the *Hope*, Aaron Everton, master, "now riding at anchor in the River of Pascataqua," to Edward Hull, London: "Two Tuns and three quarters of a Tun of Logwood." Freight, "Eleven pounds." Not signed by the master.

1698, *March* 5. Shipped by Samuel Sewall in the *Anne*, John Foye, Jr., master, to Edward Hull, London: "One Silver Watch Shagreen Case studded and four pounds fifteen shils. 6*d* milld Money and one pound Eighteen 6*d* Old Money sterl. of England." Freight, "Four shillings."[2]

Remarks were made during the meeting by Mr. THAYER, and by Mr. TAYLOR, a Corresponding Member.

[1] Not in Sewall's writing.

[2] The next bill is dated 1782, and until 1790 the bills represent shipments from Boston to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, by James Foster.

ERRATA

P. 139, l. 6. For Thayer read Ayer.
P. 141, last line, insert "annual" before "meeting."

INDEX.

A.

Adams, Abraham, 313.
Adams, Brooks, 30*n*; gift of H. Adams library, 85; on Historical Criticism, 95.
Adams, Charles Francis, 69; portrait, 44; 'Autobiography,' 171.
Adams, Charles Francis, gift of H. Adams library, 85; resident member, 141, 168.
Adams, David, 313.
Adams, Hannah, on Monis, 286.
Adams, Henry, professorship in Harvard College, 69; gift of library, 85, 86, 170; 'Education,' 171.
Adams, John, Indian peace medal, 86; portrait, 318.
Adams, John Quincy, 99; belief of, 100; on Boylston, 113.
Addington, Isaac, 337*n*.
Additon, H. F., gift, 165.
Adventure, 335, 339.
Æsculapian Club medal, 318.
Agassiz, George Russell, corresponding member, 141, 168.
Ainsworth, ——, 284.
Albert Edward (Edward VII), 284.
Allen, Henry, 313.
Allen, James, 313.
Alleyn, Edward, 313.
Allston, Washington, death mask of, 1.
Amee, John, 313.
America, 337, 339.
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, deposit by, 4, 85.
Ames, Ellis, 40.
Ames, Hugh, 313.
Amherst, Mass., on embargo, 140, 161.
Amyand, *Sir* George, 151*n*.
Amyand, Harriet Mary, 151*n*.
Anderson, John, 313.
André, John, execution of, 2.
Andrew, John Albion, military advisers, 117.
Andrews, John, 125.
Anne, 340.
Appendicitis, 109.
Appleton, Francis Henry, gift, 282.
Appleton, Nathaniel, 291.
Archer, Stevenson, 100.
Archivolty (Arugath ha-Boshem), rabbi, 287.
Argyll, Duke of, *see* Campbell.
Arles, Henry d', gift, 86.
Arlington, Mass., records, 283.
Armitage, Godfrey, 313.
Arnim, Albertina von, gift, 140, 141, 317.
Arnim, Elizabeth A. (Cotton), von, 141.
Arnim, Theodore F., on Waterloo, 140, 141.
Arnold, George C., gifts, 318.
Atkinson, Edward, papers of, 118.
Atkinson, Edward W., deposit by, 118.
Atkinson, Theodore, 313.
Atkinson, Theodore, Jr., 313.
Atwood, John, 313.
Augusta, frigate, 86.
Austin, Benjamin W., 276.
Ayrault, Pierre, 128*n*.

B.

Babbitt, George F., 50.
Baciochi, *Comte*, 34.
Bacon, Francis, 313.
Baker, Alexander, 314.

Baker, Esther Hinckley, 165.
Baker, Ezra Henry, gifts, 165.
Baker, Ezra Howes, Sr., 165.
Baker, Ezra Howes, Jr., 165.
Baker, John, 314.
Balance of power, European, 62.
Baldwin, George S., journal and letters, 140.
Baldwin, Loammi, memorial, 282; notes on transit of Mercury, 284; silhouette, 318.
Balston, James, 314.
Balston, John, 335.
Baltimore, Lord, penny, 318.
Bancroft, George, 99, 100.
Bancroft, *Mrs.* Robert Hale, 317.
Bant, Gilbert, 337.
Barbour, Francis, describes New York City in 1834, 278.
Barbour, Joseph, 280*n*.
Barbour, Lucy Elizabeth, 278.
Barker, Edward, 314.
Barker, Elizabeth, 327.
Barnard, Henry, portrait, 317.
Barnard, Richard, 314.
Baron, William, 338.
Bartlett, Elizabeth, 145.
Bartlett, Samuel, 145.
Bartlett, Truman H., bust by, 44; on Lincoln casts, 320.
Bartlett, William Henry, on Winslow, 333.
Bassett, John Spencer, paper on Henri Harrisse, 4.
Bastar, Joseph, 314.
Bates, ——, 31.
Batt, Paul, 314.
Bayard, Samuel, 289.
Baylies, Francis, on Winslow, 333.
Beauchamp, Lord, *see* William Lygon.
Becke, Alexander, 314.
Becket, *see* Thomas.
Belcher, Andrew, 337.
Belcher, Edward, 314.
Belcher, Edward, Jr., 314.
Belcher, Jonathan, letter-books, 140.
Belcher, Jonathan, Jr., 297.
Belcher, Josiah, 314.
Belgium, defense medal, 318.
Bellenden, William, 152.
Benatt, Richard, 314.
Benton, Thomas Hart, 100.
Berkeley, Elizabeth, Lady Craven, 152.
Bernon, Gabriel, 128*n*.
Berrien, John Macpherson, 100.
Berry, Thomas, 337, 338.
Berton, Peter, 125.
Betts, C. Wyllys, list of Vernon medals, 207.
Beveridge, Albert Jeremiah, corresponding member, 284, 321.
Bigelow, Melville Madison, Becket and the Law, 7.
Bigelow, Morse & Co., notes, 318.
Biggs, John, 314.
Bishop, Benjamin, 314.
Bishop, Nathaniel, 314.
Bishop, Richard, 288, 289.
Bixby, William Keeney, 154.
Blaine, James Gillespie, 93.
Blair, Frank Preston, Jr., 159.
Blake, *Mrs.* Clarence J., 322.
Blake, Edward, 314.
Blake, Thomas, 284.
Blas de Leso, 197, 206.
Blessing, 338.
Blot, Robert, 314.
Bogle, Alexander, 314.
Boit, John, journals and log books, 284.
Boit, Robert Apthorp, bequest, 284.
Bonaparte, Jerome, daughter of, 34*n*.
Bonaparte, Mathilde Lætitia Wilhelmina, 34*n*.
Bonrepos, David, 124.
Boston, Exchange Coffee House, 1; State House, 2; printed bonds, 3; dispensary, 48; mayoralty, 1882, 50; smallpox, 114; merchants' municipal committee, 117; exchange, corner-stone, 117; draft law in, 118; French church, 121; crematory, West Roxbury, 139; Brighton Hotel, 139; museum, 139; gymnasium, Boulet's, 139; Burns centenary, 153; Pope's day, 164; 'Massacre,' 165; Masonic temple and court house, 165; Summer Street Fire Committee, 1872, 276; petitions, 1664,

312; plan of, 1776, 317, 334; Faneuil Hall interior, 317; captive balloon on Common, 318; Scotch charity box, 322.
Boston Merchant, 338.
Boston 'News-Letter,' reproduction, 173.
Boston and Lowell railroad, models, 1.
Bostonian Society, deposit by, 140; gift, 282.
Boulet, G. H., gymnasium, 139.
Bounieu, Michel Honoré, 117.
Bow, Nicholas, 336.
Bowditch, Alfred, 320.
Bowditch, Charles Pickering, deposit of newspapers, 4, 85; Central American languages, 173; deposit of Lincoln casts, 319.
Bowditch, Mary O., Lincoln casts, 319.
Bowdoin, James, 86.
Bowles, *Mrs.* Francis Tiffany, gift, 168.
Bowles Brothers, 81.
Boylston, Zabdiel, inoculator, 113.
Brackett, Peter, 314.
Brackett, Sewall C., gift, 169.
Bradford, Charles Frederick, 283.
Bradford, Edward Hickling, gift, 283.
Bradford, William, 325.
Bradley, Daniel, 314.
Bradshaw, Henry, 314.
Brattle, Katharine, 147*n*.
Brattle, Thomas, 314.
Brattle, William, 147.
Brayton, George B., gift, 2.
Brayton, John Summerfield, 103.
Brewster, William, 324, 325.
Bridge, Lydian Emerson, gifts, 169, 422.
Brigham, Clarence Saunders, gift, 117.
Brighton, Mass., records, 283.
Brinley, Francis, 284.
Briscoe, Benjamin, 314.
Broadsides, Society's collection, 172; Gay collection, 173.
Brock, Richard, 314.
Brookline, Mass., records, 283.
Brooks, Samuel, Washington medal, 6.
Brown, Charles, *Commodore*, 192*n*, 193; medals, 261.
Brown, Francis Henry, 276.
Browne, William, 314.
Brownists, punished, 324.
Bruyas, Jacques, 128.
Bryan money, 1896, 165.
Bryant, William Cullen, 280.
Buchanan, James, 99, 100.
Buckley, Joseph, 338.
Buckner, Charles, 314.
Budd, Edward, 414.
Buford, J. H., & Co., 97.
Bull, Charles, 314.
Bumstead, Thomas, 314.
'Bungtown' money, 165.
Bunker Hill, monument, 117; eagle and staff, 119; plan of action, 165.
Burford, 193, 198.
Burns, Anthony, 45.
Burns, Robert, centenary in Boston, 153.
Burrill, George, 314.
Butler, Benjamin Franklin, 90.
Butler, Peter, 336.
Butler, Stephen, 314.
Butterfield, D. W., 117.
Buttolph, Thomas, 314.

C.

Cabala, Monis MS. on, 308.
Cable, Atlantic, 1.
Cadd, Bartholomew, 314.
Calendars, confusion of dates, 167.
Calhoun, John Caldwell, 99, 100.
Cambridge, Mass., records First Church, 283; baptism of Monis, 290.
Camelford, Baron, *see* Thomas Pitt.
Campbell, John, Duke of Argyll, medals, 260.
Canne, John, 'The Snare is broken,' 159.
Cape Cod harbor, pilgrims in, 166.
Caplin, Richard, 152.
Cards, Spanish playing, 318.
Cargill papers, 322.

Carré, Ezekiel, 121; 'Echantillon,' 126.
Carré, Louis, 128*n*.
Cartagena, expedition against, 196; medals, 198, 253.
Carter, Richard, 314.
Carver, John, 166.
Cary, Ann M., 169.
Cary, John, 339.
Cary, Nathaniel, 335, 336, 337.
Cary, Samuel, Jr., 169.
Cary, Sarah, 169.
Cary, Thomas Greaves, papers of, 139.
Cary, Thomas Greaves, Jr., MS. history of California, 140, 169.
Case, *Miss*, gifts, 284, 318.
Case, James B., 284.
Cathcart, Charles, Lord, 196; death, 197.
Catherine Frederica, 34*n*.
Centuries, division of history, 66.
Chadwick, French Ensor, death of, 119.
Chapman, George H., 1.
Chapman, Henry, 184.
Chauncy, Charles, 285*n*.
Checkley, Anthony, 314.
Checkley, John, 314.
Cheever, Tracy P., journal, 45.
Cheever, William Downes, account book, 284.
Cheney, Abner, 38.
Cheney, Joanna, 38.
Chevillet, Justus, 117.
Chew, William W., 34.
Child papers, 3.
Child, George H., 96.
Choate, Samuel, 338.
Christiani, Friedrich Albrecht, 302*n*.
Clarke, Edmond, 339.
Clarke, Edward Hammond, 116.
Clarke, Elizabeth Loring, 115.
Clarke, Samuel, on the Trinity, 305.
Clarke, Thomas, 314.
Clarke, William, 337, 339.
Clay, Henry, letter, 1831, 3.
Clemenceau, Georges, medal, 283.
Clement, Augustine, 314.
Clement, Samuel, 314.
Club of Odd Volumes, records, 334.
Cobb, John Storer, 117, 139.
Cobb, Sarah Crocker, 44.
Coburn, John, 5.
Codman, Charles Russell, death of, 3; tribute to, 87.
Coelho, Egas Moniz, 286.
Cole, George Watson, 277.
Collicott, Richard, 314.
Collins, John, 314.
Colman, Benjamin, on Monis, 291, 293, 301.
Colquitt, Walter T., 100.
Columbus, Christopher, portrait, 282.
Comité France-Amérique, medal, 2.
Concord, Mass., broadside, 165.
Confederacy, Southern, paper money, 1.
Cooke, Richard, 314.
Coolidge, Baldwin, gifts, 44, 282, 284, 318.
Cooper, James Fenimore, in politics, 280.
Copp, David, 314.
Copp, Jonathan, 314.
Copp, William, 314.
Corbitant, Winslow and, 322.
Cornelia, 140.
Corvell, Edward, 314.
Cotton, Elizabeth A., 141.
Cotton, John, 132.
Cotton, John, *d*. 1789, 297.
Crafts, Griffin, 101.
Crase, Richard, 314.
Craven, *Lady*, *see* Elizabeth Berkeley.
Critchly, Richard, 314.
Crittenden, John Jordan, 100.
Crosby, Sylvester Sage, casts of medals, 86.
Cross, Charles Robert, gift, 3.
Cruger, John, 288.
Cuba, proposed attack, 199; medals, 199.
Cullimore, Isaac, 314.
Custis, George Washington Parke, 100.

D.

Daillé, Pierre, 125, 128.
Dallas, George Mifflin, 99, 100.
Dana, Samuel, 118.

Dane, Nathan, 38.
Dana, Richard Henry, death mask of Allston, 1.
Dark ages, meaning of, 57.
Davis, Caleb, 6; account books, 284.
Davis, Edward, 314.
Dawse, Humphrey, 314.
Dawson, Henry, 314.
Dean, Thomas, 335.
Dedham, German Quincy Homestead Lands, 322.
Defiance, 197, 199.
Demidoff, Anatole, *Comte*, 34*n*.
Denn, Catherine, 151.
Dew, Ambrose, 314.
Dexter, George, portrait, 318.
Dexter, *Mrs.* George, gift, 318.
Dickinson, Elisha, 162.
Dickinson, Marquis F., 276.
Dickinson, Samuel F., 163.
Digges, Dudley, 'Of the circumference of the earth,' 277.
Dinsdall, Adam, 314.
Dinsdell, John, 314.
Dinsdell, William, 314.
Dodge, Paul, 38.
Dolbeare papers, 283.
Dolphin, 337.
'Domestick Intelligence,' 1679–1681, 173.
Donelan, ——, 100.
Dorr, Julia Caroline Ripley, 282.
Douglas, Dunbar James, Earl of Selkirk, letters, 139.
Douglas, Stephen Arnold, 100.
Dove, J., book-plate, 6*n*.
Drake, Alexander Wilson, 321.
Dowse, William Bradford Homer, gift for printing journals, 118, 171, 175; medal of landing of the Pilgrims, 165.
Duck, Samuel, 339.
Dunning, Hicks, 314.
Dwight, Nathaniel, 336.

E.

Eaist, David, 314.
Eaist, Francis, 314.
Earle, Robert, 314.
Eddenden, Edmond, 314.
Eddy, James, 96.
Edes, Henry Herbert, committee on accounts, 141.
Edes, Samuel B., papers, 3.
Edgecombe, Me., tax lists, 3.
Edmunds, Robert, 314.
Edwards, Thomas, 314.
Eldridge, Josiah, 340.
Elibank, Lord, *see* Patrick Murray.
Eliot, Charles William, memoir of A. T. Lyman, 36; Harvard Medical School, 107; on Dr. Fitz, 107.
Eliot, John, Indian tracts, 131.
Eliot, Robert, 314.
Elizabeth, 336.
Ellis, Calvin, 106, 107.
Elmsley, Peter, letter of Gibbon, 151.
Embargo, Amherst on, 140, 161.
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, at Burns centenary, 156; lecture in Providence, 156.
Emerton, Ephraim, 71; the periodization of history, 55.
Endeavor, 335, 336.
Enges, Mauditt, 314.
English, Thomas, papers, 169.
Everett, Edward, gives overcoat, 143.
Everett, William, MS. essays, 2.
Everton, Aaron, 340.
Ewell, John, 314.

F.

Fandino, ——, 191*n*.
Farlow, John Woodford, resident member, 95, 117; committee on library, 141, 186; gift, 282.
Farnam, John, 314.
Farnam, John, Jr., 314.
Farrand, Max, corresponding member, 169, 283.
Fellch, Henry, 314.
Feudalism, 60.
Fidelity, 335, 336.
Field, Cyrus West, 1.
Fifield, Giles, 338.
Fitch, Jeremiah, 314.
Fitch, Thomas, 314.
Firth, Charles Harding, honorary member, 119, 168.

Fisher, Herbert Albert Laurens, corresponding member, 322.
Fitts, Robert, 104.
Fitz, Albert, 104.
Fitz, Eliza Roberts (Nye), 104.
Fitz, Elizabeth Loring (Clarke), 115.
Fitz, Reginald, 116.
Fitz, Reginald Heber, memoir of, 104.
Fitz, Robert, 104.
Fitzwilliam, N. H., epitaphs, 283.
Flack, Samuel, 314.
Fletcher, Edward, 314.
Flint, Jonathan, 338.
Foch, *Marshal*, medal, 165.
Fones, John, 125.
Ford, Jeremiah Denis Matthias, on Monis, 286.
Ford, Worthington Chauncey, 165; diary of D. Willard, 99; Ezekiel Carré, 121; Burns Centenary, 1859, 153; Winslow's initials, 159; a ghost book, 277.
Fort Chagre, capture of, 195; medals, 243.
Foster, James, 340*n*.
Foster, Richard, 336, 337.
Fothergill, John, 146.
Fox, Charles James, 151; removed from treasury and elected to literary club, 148; verses on George III and Gibbon, 150.
Foye, John, 337, 340.
Frankland, Thomas, 191*n*.
Franklin, Benjamin, portraits, 2, 317; medals, 5, 7.
Frary, Theophilus, 314.
Freeman, *Mrs.* James Goldthwaite, gifts, 284, 318.
Friedman, Lee Max, 285.
Friendship, 339.
Frinke, John, 314.
Frothingham, Paul Revere, on Dean Hodges, 322.
Fruis, Daniel, 314.

G.

Galicia, 204.
Gallup, Isaac, 334.
Garrick David, letter to Steevens, 149.
General Cobb, 140.
George Richard, 314.
Gerrish, Ellen, 281.
Gibbon, Edward, "Decline and Fall," 64, 150; letters on and by, 148; verses by Fox, 150.
Gibson, Christopher, 314.
Gilbaut, F., 283.
Gilder, Richard Watson, Lincoln casts, 321.
Giles, I., 275.
Gillam, Benjamin, 124*n*, 338.
Gillam, Hannah (Savage), 124*n*.
Ginzberg, Louis, 308.
Glass, Eliot & Co., 1.
Glover, John, 314.
Glover, John, Jr., 314.
Goldar, John, 2.
Goldsmith, Oliver, waistcoats, 149.
Gooch, William, *Colonel*, 196.
Goodell, Abner Cheney, Jr., memoir of, 38.
Goodell, Alfred Putnam, 43.
Goodell, George Haskell, 43.
Goodell, Joanna (Cheney), 38.
Goodell, Katherine (Kilham), 38.
Goodell, Martha Page (Putnam), 43.
Goodell, Robert, 38.
Goodell, Sally Dodge (Haskell), 38.
Goodell, Zina, 38.
Goodin, Edward, 314.
Gottheil, Richard, 308.
Gough, John Bartholomew, 100.
Grant, Alexander, letter, 2, 31.
Grant, Anna Powell (Mason), 31.
Grant, Charles, 31.
Grant, Eliza, 33.
Grant, Elizabeth (Whyte), 31.
Grant, Isaac, 31, 34.
Grant, John, 31, 34.
Grant, Mary, 33.
Grant, Patrick, 2, 31.
Grant, Robert, gift, 2, 31; tribute to Dr. Green, 49; committee on officers, 141.
Gratz, Henry Howard, Burns centenary, 153.
Gray, Edward, deposit by, 322.
Gray, Harry A., collection of scrip, 318.

Gray, Russell, committee on library 141; report, 184.
Green, James, 314.
Green, Jonas, 285*n*.
Green, Joshua, 45.
Green, Nathaniel, Jr., 339.
Green, Samuel, printing of French, 132.
Green, Samuel Abbott, 169; bust, 44; tribute by Dr. Warren, 45; Mr. Grant, 49; Mr. Tuttle, 52.
Greenleaf, Edmond, 314.
Greenough, Charles Pelham, 312; gift, 165; memoir of J. B. Thayer, 133; committee on accounts, 141; Thayer's 'transmittendum,' 142; finance committee, 316.
Greenough, William, 314.
Greenwood, Nathaniel, 314.
Gridley, Joseph, 314.
Grimes, S. A., 45.
Grog, origin of word, 191.
Grubb, Thomas, 314.
Guild, Curtis, 44.
Guild, Sarah Crocker (Cobb), 44.
Guiterrez de Zavallos, Juan Carlos, 195.
Gwyer, Mary (Grant), 33*n*.

H.

Haddock, Nicholas, medals, 270.
Hale, Charles, 90.
Hale, John, 'Modest Inquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft,' 317.
Hall, Edward, pine tree coins, 319.
Hallett, Benjamin Franklin, 45.
Hallett, Fred A., gift, 1.
Hammond, John, 140.
Hampton Court, 192*n*, 193.
Harcourt, William, 2.
Harker, John, 314.
Harris, Benjamin, 'Domestick Intelligence,' 173.
Harris, Benjamin, papers, 3.
Harris, Edward Doubleday, death of, 141; transcripts of epitaphs, 283.
Harris, James, Baron Malmesbury, 151.
Harris, Katharine B., gift, 283.
Harris, Theodore S. and George H. Chapman, scrip, 1.
Harris, William, 338.
Harrison, John, 314.
Harrison club badge, 165.
Harsnet, Samuel, archbishop of York, 324.
Hart, Charles Henry, death of, 3.
Hart, Francis Russell, 187*n*, 196, 205.
Hart, William H., 276.
Hartley, David, 'Letters on the American War,' 282.
Harvard University, medal Comité France-Amérique, 2; course in history in the '70's, 69; law school 135; U. S. radio school, 139; broadsides in library, 173; Monis in, 290.
Haskell, Aaron, 38.
Haskell, Eunice (Dodge), 38.
Haskell, George, 39.
Haskell, Sally Dodge, 38.
Hastings, Moses, 162.
Hathaway, Horatio, Jr., 103.
Hathaway, Mabel (Lovering), 103.
Havanna, Vernon medals, 199, 260.
Hawkins, ——, 2.
Haynes, Joseph, almanac notes, 140.
Haywood, Anthony, 339, 340.
Haywood, George, 89.
Healy, ——, *Mrs.*, 280.
Hebrew, in Harvard College, 285.
Herbert, John, 338.
Heron, Robert, 152*n*.
Heron, Robert [John Pinkerton], 152.
Heskett, George, 314.
Hicks, Samuel, 314.
Hinkle, Frederick W., gift, 3.
History, Periodization of, 55; at Harvard College in the '70's, 69.
Hitchborn, David, 314.
Hitchcock, Edward, derivation of 'tobacco,' 121.
Hodges, George, paper, 95; death of, 322.
Holland, Christopher, 314.
Hollingshead, Richard, 314.

Hollis, Thomas, Hebrew types, 298; on Monis, 306.
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, at Burns centenary, 156.
Holroyd, John Baker, Earl of Sheffield, 151.
Hope, 340.
Hopewell, 336, 339.
Hopkins, Mark, papers of, 3.
Hopkins, Susan, gift, 3.
Horwood, Henry, 314.
Hosack, David, 318.
Hosier, Francis, *Vice-admiral*, 192.
Houghton, Hannah Lois, 322.
Howard, Robert, 314.
Howe, Mark Antony De Wolfe Howe, memoir of T. R. Sullivan, 80.
Howes, Edward, 277.
Hubbard, William J., 134.
Hudson, Francis, 314.
Hudson, John Elbridge, photograph, 317.
Hugonin, Francis, 153.
Huguenots, French, in Massachusetts, 121.
Hull, Edward, 335, 337, 338, 339, 340.
Hunnewell, James Frothingham, books from library, 85, 170.
Hunnewell, James Melville, gift, 85.
Hunt, Charles, 117.
Huntington, Henry Edwards, gift, 142.
Hurd, John, Jr., 314.
Hurd, Richard, Bishop of Worcester, 152.
Hutchinson, Elisha, 125, 334.
Hutchinson, Thomas, on Winslow, 333.
Hutchinson, William, 335.

I.

Industry, 338.
Ingersoll, John, 339.
Ingram, Ebenezer, 162.
Ingram, Thomas, 288.
Inman, Henry, portrait of Wirt, 282.
Ive, John, 335, 339.

J.

Jackson, Charles Thomas, ether discovery, 169, 422.
Jackson, James, 45.
Jackson, J. B. S., 105, 106.
Jackson, Richard, 324.
Jackson, N. H., epitaphs, 283.
James, 335, 339.
Jameson, John Franklin, gift, 140.
Jamison, David, 288.
Janinet, François, Franklin portrait, 318.
Jansen, Johannes, 288.
Jarvis, William, papers, 3.
Jefferson, N. H., epitaphs, 283; Starr King epitaphs, 283.
Jenkins, Charles F., gift, 284.
Jenkins, Robert, case of ear, 190.
Jenner, Edward, monument, 45.
Jepson, William, 314.
Jerome, Napoleon H., 39.
Jerusalem, medal on capture, 139.
Jesuit teachings, Carré on, 128.
Jesus Maria Joseph, 300.
Jews, distribution of, 287; conversion, 301.
John and Samuel, 340.
John Gilpin, 283.
John James, 337.
John Tom, Indian, 284.
Johnson, Cave, 99, 100.
Johnson, G. E., Faneuil Hall, 317.
Johnson, Marshall, *Mayflower* in Cape Cod harbor, 166.
Johnson, Reverdy, 100.
Johnson, Samuel, literary club, 148.
Johnston, John, 288.
Jones, Morgan, 314.
Jonson, James, 314.
Jordan, John W., *6n.*
Joy, *Mrs.* Charles H., gifts, 169.
Joy, Fred, gift, 118.

K.

Katharine, 337.
Kickameeset, R. I., 125.
Kellen, William Vail, memoir of H. M. Lovering, 101.
Kidder, Henry P., on Dr. Green, 50.

Kidder, Richard, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 301.
Kilham, Katherine, 38.
Killcup, William, 314.
Kimchi, David, 287.
King, George, 314.
King, John, 314.
King, Thomas Starr, epitaphs, 283.
Kingman, Sarah F. (Mayo), estate of, gift, 284.
Kingston (Rochester), R. I., French at, 125.
Kingston, 193.
Kip, Jacobus, 288.
Kittredge, George Lyman, 307, 311.
Knowles, ——, *Admiral*, on American troops, 196.
Knowles, ——, *Captain*, 197.
Kohut, George Alexander, 285*n*, 286, 308.
Kolbel, Françoise Lambertine, 151*n*.
Kolbel, Henry, *Baron*, 151*n*.

L.

Lafayette, parade in memory of, 278.
Laguayra, attack upon, 193.
Lancaster, N. H., epitaphs, 283.
Lane, Andrew, 3.
Lane, William, 314.
Lason, George, 338.
Laurie, Gilbert, 122*n*.
Lavington, Lord, *see* Ralph Payne.
Lee, Charles, capture of, 2.
Leonard, ——, 86.
Lewis, Dixon Hall, 100.
Lexington, Mass., records and epitaphs, 283.
Libbey, Jane, 144.
Lightfoot, John, library, 303*n*.
Lincoln, Abraham, life mask and hands, 319.
Lincoln, Frederick Walker, order as mayor, 118.
Linzee, John Torrey, 121.
Little, Tristram, 3.
Locke, John, 2.
Lodge, Henry Cabot, presides, 1, 139; remarks on peace, 4; instructor in Harvard College, 71; publishing committee, 316.
Loft, Richard, 314.
Long, John Davis, 90.
Longacre, John Barton, portrait of John Adams, 318.
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 145.
Longfellow, Stephen, 145.
Longfellow, Zilpah, 145.
Lord, Arthur, amendment to by-laws, 119; Alexander Scammell, 143; report as treasurer, 174; Boit bequest, 284.
Loring, Charles Greely, 87.
Lovell, John, 315.
Loverain, Robert, 101.
Lovering, Charlotte Morton, 103.
Lovering, Dorothy, 103.
Lovering, Edith, 103.
Lovering, Henry Morton, memoir, 101; portrait, 101.
Lovering, Henry Morton, Jr., 101.
Lovering, Isabella (Morse), 103.
Lovering, Mabel, 103.
Lovering, Sarah (Morton), 101.
Lovering, Willard, 101.
Lowell, John, 315.
Lowther, ——, 195.
Loy, Sarah Lucy, 322.
Luria, Isaac, 309.
Lyman, Arthur, 36.
Lyman, Arthur Theodore, memoir, 36.
Lyman, Ella Lowell, 37.
Lyman, George Williams, 36.
Lyman, Isaac, 36.
Lyman, Theodore, 36.
Lyndon, Augustine, 315.
Lyon, William, Lord Beauchamp, 151.
Lyons, Israel, Hebrew grammar, 298.
Lytherland, William, 315.

M.

McCleary, Samuel Foster, papers, 3.
McDowell, *Mrs.* Katherine, 118.
Mackkene, Erned, 315.
McKendry, Benjamin, papers, 3.
McLellan, Hugh, 281.
McNutt, ——, exploits of, 163.

Mahitable of Boston, 336, 337.
Malmesbury, *Baron*, *see* James Harris.
Man, Nathaniel, 335, 336.
Mangum, Willie Person, 100.
Manly, Charles, 6*n*.
Manly, James, Washington medal, 6.
Mann, Horace, letters, 45.
Marble, William, 315.
Margolioth, Naphtali, 301*n*.
Marret, Abigail, 299.
Marret, Edward, 299*n*.
Marret, Hannah, 299*n*.
Marret, Mary, 300*n*.
Marrs, Alice H., 284.
Marrs, Laura (Norcross), gifts, 282.
Marrs, Kingsmill, gift of library, 282.
Marsh, John, 282.
Marsh, John, 315.
Marshall, Robert, 315.
Marshall, Thomas, 336.
Martyn, John, 286, 300, 307, 312*n*.
Martyn, Mary (Marret), 300*n*.
Mary and Elizabeth, 335, 336.
Mary of Boston, 337.
Mason, Anna Powell, 31.
Mason, Henry, 315.
Mason, Jacob, 315.
Mason, John Young, 100.
Mason, Jonathan, 31.
Mason, Richard, 315.
Mason, Robert, 315.
Massachusetts, 'Province Laws,' 40; Witchcraft in, 42; earthquake, 45; Dowse gift for printing records, 118, 171; temperance society, 120; French refugees, 121; 'Book of Lawes,' 142; charter, 313; scrip, collection acquired, 318.
Massachusetts Historical Society, meetings, 1*n*; diploma, 95; seal, 97; locations of, 97; amendment to by-laws, 119, 141; committees, annual, 141; reports: Council, 169; treasurer, 174; assistant librarian, 183; cabinet-keeper, 183; on library and cabinet, 184; officers, 186; coins and medals, 171; income trust fund, 316.
Massasoit and Plymouth, 331.
Mather, Cotton, Carré and, 130; French writings, 130; on Monis, 303.
Mather, Eliakim, 337, 338, 339.
Mather, Increase, 315; Van der Bosch and, 123; on Monis, 292, 301; converted Jew, 302*n*.
Matteson, Tompkins Harrison, portrait of Franklin, 2.
Matthew, John, 315.
Matthews, Nathan, resident member, 2; committee on library, 141.
Maverick, Samuel, on Winslow, 330.
Mayflower, in Massachusetts, 166.
Mayo, John, 315.
Mayo family, deeds, 284.
Meares, Robert, 315.
Medals, coins, etc., 2, 86, 117, 139, 165, 282, 318; landing of Pilgrims, 165.
Medfield, Mass., papers, 3.
Medford, Mass., records and epitaphs, 283.
Mediæval, meaning of, 58, 60.
Mellen, John, 45.
Melville, Thomas, papers, 322.
Meriden, N. H., epitaphs, 283.
Merill, Calvin, 162.
Merrick, Aaron, 162.
Merrick, Edith (Lovering), 103.
Merrick, T. Hartley, 103.
Messenger, Henry, 315.
Metcalf, John, papers, 3.
Metcalf, Stephen, papers, 3.
Michael-Paulowitz, *Grand Duke*, 32.
Mifflin, Thomas, on Washington medal, 6.
Milton, *Mrs.* George Arthur, gift, 317.
Minot, Joseph Grafton, gift, 139; committee on officers, 141; "Book of Laws," 142.
Money, paper, confederate, 1; Rhode Island, 2; Massachusetts, 86.
Monis, Abigail (Marret), 300.
Monis, Judah, career and writings, 285; Hebrew grammar, 298; nomenclator, 309; Bible, 311.
Monis, origin of name, 286.
Monish, Abraham, 286.
Moniz, Egas, 286.

Moniz de Silva Ferraz, A., 287.
Moody, Joshua, Van den Bosch and, 123.
Moor, ——, 197.
Moore, George Foote, committee on officers, 141; 'Judah Monis,' 285.
Moore, Thomas, 97.
Moore, Thomas, 315.
Moro, *Sir* Antonio, portrait of Columbus, 282.
Morris, Corbyn, 149*n*.
Morse, A. J., gift, 318.
Morse, Isabella, 103.
Morse, John, 315.
Morse, John E., 318.
Morse, John Torrey, Jr., on C. R. Codman, 87; on von Arnim, 140.
Morton, George, 101.
Morton, Marcus, 101.
Morton, Sarah, 101.
Mower, George A., gifts, 2.
Mugwumpery in Massachusetts, 93.
Murray, Patrick, Lord Elibank, 196.
Murdock, Harold, gifts, 139, 165; on Edward Gibbon, 148.
Myler, Thomas, 315.

N.

Napoleon, London medals, 199; von Arnim collection, 317.
Narragansett country, 127.
Nashua, Indian Head Bank, 318.
Negus, Benjamin, 315.
Netcher, George E., 140.
Newberry Plantation, 125.
Newgate, John, 315.
Newton, Mass., records and epitaphs, 283.
New York City in 1834, 278; freemen privileges, 289.
Nicholas I, *Emperor*, 32.
Nichols, John W. T., gift, 3.
Nini, Jean Baptiste, 7.
Norcross, Grenville Howland, gifts, 2, 44, 139, 165, 283, 318; report as cabinet-keeper, 183; Boston Fire Committee, 1872, 276; house committee, 316; finance committee, 316.
Norcross, Laura, 282.
Norcross, Otis, gift, 276.
Nordstrom, Frederick, gift, 1.
Norfolk, 198.
Northborough, 300.
North Carolina, indents, 169.
North Woburn, Baldwin memorial, 282.
Norton, Andrews, 310*n*.
Norwich, 193.
Noyes, Sarah W., diary, 3.
Nutt, John, invoice books, 3.
Nye, Allen, 104.
Nye, Eliza Roberts, 104.

O.

Odlin, John, 315.
Ogle, *Sir* Chaloner, 196; medals, 271.
Oliver, Frederick Scott, corresponding member, 2.
Oliver, Sarah, 147*n*.
Oppenheim, Samuel, 288.
Oreto, chase of the, 87.
Orrise, John, 315.
Oswald, Richard, letter, 1747, 77.
Othello, comment on, 149.
Otto, Julius Conrad, 301.
Owners Adventure, 336, 337, 338.

P.

Padwick, James, 288, 289.
Page, Jeremiah, 43.
Page, John, 43.
Page, Mary, 43.
Page, William, *Lieut.*, plan of action on Bunker Hill, 165.
Paine, John, 315.
Paine, John H., 284.
Palmer, Albert, mayoralty election, 1882, 50.
Pancreatitis, 110.
Parker, Richard, 315.
Parr, Samuel, 152.
Pasteur Institute medal, 139.
Payne, *Sir* Ralph, Lord Lavington, 151.
Peacock, Richard, 315.
Peacock, Samuel, 315.
Pearce, John, 315.

Pearman, Robert H., 174, 282.
Pearson, Catharine, 281*n*.
Peck, John, 337.
Peirara, Abraham, 288, 289.
Peirce, Benjamin, on Monis, 286.
Pekenino, Michele, 317.
Pell, William, 315.
Pendleton, William S., 96.
Pendleton, ——, 282.
Penn, James, 315.
Penniman, James, 315.
Percy, Hugh, Lord, 318.
Perkins, Jacob, Washington medal, 7.
Perkins, Thomas Handasyd, 45, 117, 284.
Perry, Seth, 315.
Pershing, John Joseph, medal, 44.
Pettequamscot, R. I., 127.
Phillips, Calef, 335.
Phillips, Henry, 315.
Phillips, John, 315.
Phillips, Philip, 315.
Pickering, William, 315.
Pilgrims, landing of, medal, 165; confusion of date, 167.
Pinkerton, John, 152*n*.
Pitt, Thomas, Baron Camelford, 151.
Plaice, Peter, 315.
Plimpton, George Arthur, corresponding member, 119, 139.
Plymouth, Mass., Scammell at, 143; pilgrims in England, 323; petition for toleration, 328.
Polk, James Knox, 99, 100.
Pomegranate, 339.
Pomeroy, Hannah, 281.
Pomeroy, Thaddeus, 281*n*.
Porter, Abel, 315.
Porter, Edward, 315.
Porter, John, 315.
Portlock, Nathaniel, 152*n*.
Porto Bello, description of, 188; attack upon, 193; medals, 209.
Pound, Roscoe, 289*n*.
Powning, Henry, 315.
Pratt, Timothy, 315.
Preble, Enoch, letters, 87.
Preble, George Henry, papers of, 86.
Preble, Susie Z., gifts, 86.
President, 336.
Prince, Frederick Octavius, 92.
Prince, Job, 335, 339.
Princess Louisa, 193.
Prout, Timothy, 315.
Prudent Sarah, 338.
Pullin, John, 337.
Pulsford, William, 335.
Putnam, Alfred, 43.
Putnam, Elizabeth Cabot, gift, 45.
Putnam, Martha Page, 43.
Putnam, Mary, 43.

Q.

Quincy, Ann, 339.
Quincy, Daniel, 338.
Quincy, Edmund, commonplace book and letters, 3.
Quincy, Elizabeth, 44*n*.
Quincy, Josiah, 117.
Quincy, Mary Perkins, 3, 173.

R.

Radical Club, poem on, 118.
Randall, Charles S., 94.
Ratcliffe, John, 315.
Rawlins, Caleb, 315.
Rawlins, Joseph, 315.
Rawlins, Thomas, 315.
Read, Esdras, 315.
Read, William, 315.
Rebecca of Glasgow, 190.
Reed, Jane, 293*n*.
Rentome, ——, *Captain*, 195.
Revere, Paul, 117.
Reynolds, James, Sr., 127.
Reynolds, Nathaniel, 315.
Rhode Island, paper money, 2.
Rhodes, James Ford, paper by, 4, 312; presides, 44, 85, 117; publishing committee, 316.
Rice, Joshua, 315.
Rice, William W., 89.
Richard, 338, 339.
Richards, John, 315.
Richardson, Maurice Howe, 115.
Richardson, Richard, 315.
Richardson, W., 193.
Roberts, *Mrs.* Lewis Niles, 283.
Robinson, David, 90; letter, 163.

Robinson, George Dexter, 90.
Rochester, Robert, 325.
Rochester (Kingston), R. I., French at, 125.
Rogers, Nathaniel, note-book, 3.
Rokitansky, Karl, *Baron*, 105.
Roosevelt, Theodore, 119.
Ropes, John Codman, 141.
Russell, *Mrs.* Robert S., gifts, 117, 139, 169.
Russell, 198.
Rust, Henry, 315.

S.

Sadd, Henry S., 2.
Saffin, John, 125.
St. Lawrence, cruise of, 87.
Salter, William, 315.
Sampson, Hugh, 339.
Sampson, Mary Ware, 117.
Samuel and Mary, 338.
Sanderson, Robert, 315.
Sanford, John, 315.
Sargent, John Singer, 283.
Saunders, Mary Elizabeth, 317.
Savage, Adele H., gift, 168.
Savage, Charles, 168.
Savage, Habijah, 315.
Savage, Hope, 168*n*.
Savage, James, election of, 95.
Savage, Samuel, 168*n*.
Savage, Samuel Phillips, 168*n*.
Savage, Thomas, 124*n*.
Savage, William H., 168.
Savage & Company, 168.
Savage & Lewis, 168.
Savage papers, 168.
Scammell, Alexander, letter of, 143.
Scammell, Jane (Libbey), 144.
Scammell, Leslie, 144.
Scott, ——, on Othello, 149.
Scroope, Edmund, 339.
Search, John, 315.
Search, right of, 189.
Sears, David, 118.
Sellers, William, 335.
Sewall, David, 315.
Sewall, Samuel, on Van der Bosch, 124; records of trade, 334.
Sewall, Stephen, 298*n*, 334.
Shattuck, Frederick Cheever, 6; gifts, 44, 169, 284, 321.
Shattuck, George Brune, 6.
Shattuck, George Cheyne, account books, 169, 284.
Shattuck, George Otis, 134.
Shaw, Hope (Savage), 168*n*.
Shaw, John, 315.
Shaw, Josephine MacC., gift, 322.
Shaw, Lemuel, 168*n*; papers, 322.
Shaw, Oakes, papers, 322.
Shaw, Robert Gould, 48*n*; resident member, 169, 283.
Shaw, Samuel Savage, papers, 322.
Shearer, Thomas, 315.
Sheerness, 193.
Sheffield, Earl of, *see* Holroyd.
Shepley, George Leander, gifts, 2, 317, 334.
Short, John, & Co., 336.
Short, Jonathan, 338.
Shrewsbury, 198.
Shumway, Frank H., gift, 86.
Sibley, John Langdon, bequest, 55.
Simon, the Jew, 302*n*.
Skoda, Joseph S., 105.
Slade, Lucius, 118.
Smith, Benjamin, 315.
Smith, *Mrs.* Charles Card, legacy, 175.
Smith, Elliott, 34.
Smith, H. W., 317.
Smith, Matthew Hale, 99.
Smith, Richard, 315.
Smith, Stanley W., 284.
Smollett, Tobias, on Cartagena expedition, 200; Carlyle on, 202.
Smyth, Thomas, 315.
Snelling, John, 315.
Snow, Thomas, 315.
Sons of American Revolution, medal, 318.
Spence, 198.
Squirrel, 197.
Standish, Myles, 325.
Stanwood, Edward, publishing committee, 316.
Starr, Jesse, powder horn, 317, 334.
Starr, John, 315.
Steevens, George, letter to Garrick 148.
Stephens, Richard, 315.

Stephens, Thomas, 315.
Stephenson, Fred, 281.
Stevens, Judith, 280*n*.
Stockwell, G. S., 45.
Stoddard, Anthony, 315.
Stone, Daniel, 315.
Stone, Lincoln R., on Dr. Green, 46.
Storer, Ebenezer, 281.
Storer, Horatio R., on Dr. Green, 47.
Storer, Malcolm, 171; Manly Washington medal, 6; remarks, 165, 183; Admiral Vernon medals, 1739–1742, 187; on scrip and pine tree coins, 318.
Story, Elisha, account books, 322.
Stoudly, John, 315.
Strafford, 193.
Strippe, John, 315.
Stuart, Gilbert, portrait of John Adams, 318.
Sullivan, Charlotte Caldwell (Blake), 80.
Sullivan, James, 80.
Sullivan, Lucy (Wadsworth), 80.
Sullivan, Thomas, 80.
Sullivan, Thomas Russell, memoir, 80.
Sumner, George, in Russia, 31.
Sunderland, John, 315.
Suttle, Charles F., 45.
Swan, 337.
Swasey, A. Loring, 103.
Swasey, Dorothy (Lovering), 103.
Swett, Joseph, 315.
Swift, Lindsay, a Course of History at Harvard College in the Seventies, 69.
Sylvester, Giles, marriage, 124.
Sylvester, Hannah (Savage | Gillam), 124.
Sylvester, Nathaniel, 124*n*.

T.

Tanner, Thomas, 336.
Tappan, ——, 31.
Tapping, John, 315.
Taylor, Richard, 315.
Templo (Reshith Hokmah), rabbi, 287.
Texian campaign plate, 86.
Thacher, George, papers, 140.
Thayer, Abijah Wyman, 133.
Thayer, Ezra Ripley, 138.
Thayer, Gideon French, 155.
Thayer, James Bradley, memoir of, 133; 'transmittendum,' 142.
Thayer, Nathaniel, 336.
Thayer, Nathaniel F., gift, 139.
Thayer, Sophia Bradley (Ripley), 138.
Thayer, Susan Bradley, 133.
Thayer, W. B., & Co., 97.
Thayer, William Roscoe, speaks, 119; 'Washington in Cambridge,' 146; gift, 283.
Thayer, *Mrs.* William Roscoe, gifts, 2, 117.
Thayer, William Sydney, 138; on Dr. Fitz, 108.
Thomas à Becket and the law, 7.
Thorndike, Samuel Lothrop, on J. B. Thayer, 138.
Thorndike, Townsend W., gift, 318.
Thurston, Benjamin, 315.
Thwing, Annie H., gifts, 1.
Thwing, Benjamin, 315.
Thwing, Supply Clap, 1.
Tibbs, ——, 213.
Tilden, G. L., gift, 86.
Till, Peter, 315.
Tobacco, Hitchcock's derivation, 121.
Tom, ship, 169.
Torfaeus, Thormodus, 152.
Toutt, Richard, 315.
Touten, John, 121.
Townsend, William, 315.
Trask, Cora E., 119.
Trask, Lyman T., 120.
Trask, Samuel, 120.
Trinity Historical Society, Texas, 277.
Triumph, 195.
Truesdale, Richard, 315.
Turner, George L., pilgrim medal, 165.
Tustin, ——, 100.
Tuttle, Julius Herbert, tribute to Dr. Green, 52; diploma of society, 95; report as assistant librarian, 183; Boston petitions of 1664, 312; house committee, 316.

Tweedy, ——, 154.
Two Brothers, 335, 338.
Tyng, Dudley Atkins, Washington medal, 7.
Tyng, Edward, 315.

U.

Underwood, Thomas, 315.
Unitarian festival, Boston, 1856, 284.
Unity, 339.
Usher, Bridget, 336.
Usher, Roland Greene, on the Pilgrims, 323.

V.

Van der Bosch (or Bosck), Laurent, 122.
Veazie, Samuel, 336, 339.
Vergoose, Isaac, 315.
Vergoose, Peter, 315.
Vernon, Edward, medals, 1739–1742, 187; career, 191; lists of medals, 206; classification, 207; legends of, 209; lions on, 209; catalogue of, 209.
Veteran Association Independent Corps Cadets, badge, 282.
Virchow, Rudolph, 105, 318.
Volk, Leonard Wells, cast of Lincoln's face and hands, 319.
Vose, James Gardiner, gift, 3.
Vose, Joseph, papers of, 3.

W.

Wadsworth, Elizabeth (Bartlett), 145.
Wadsworth, Lucy, 80.
Wadsworth, Oliver Fairfield, 80.
Wadsworth, Peleg, 145.
Wadsworth, Zilpah, 145.
Waggett, Thomas, 315.
Walcott, Henry Pickering, memoir of R. H. Fitz, 104.
Walker, Robert, 315.
Walker, Robert James, 100.
Walker, Thomas, 315.
Walpole, Horace, 'Mysterious Mother,' 152.
Walpole, *Sir* Robert, 191, 192, 270.
Walter, Nehemiah, 128*n*.
Waltham, Mass., records, 283.
Wanton, Edward, 336.
Ward, Benjamin, 315.
Ware, Henry, 117.
Ware, John, 45.
Warren, John Collins, 45; temperance cup, 120.
Warren, John Collins, gifts, 317; tribute to Dr. Green, 45; eagle and staff, 119; temperance society, 120; house committee, 316.
Warren, Mercy, letters, 169.
Warren, Peter, 315.
Warren, Winslow, presides, 165, 282, 317; finance committee, 316; on Edward Winslow, 322.
Washburn, Charles Grenfill, on Roosevelt, 119.
Washington, Booker, Roosevelt and, 119.
Washington, George, 188; poem on, 3; Manly medal, 5, 6; habits, 100; Bounieu's portrait, 117; elm, 117, 146.
Washington, Lawrence, 188.
Washington, Conn., epitaphs, 283.
Waterhouse, Benjamin, journal, 146.
Waterloo, battle of, 140.
Waters, Thomas Franklin, memoir of A. C. Goodell, Jr., 38.
Watkins, Thomas, 315.
Way, Richard, 315.
Wayte, Gamaliel, 315.
Wayte, Return, 315.
Webb, Joseph, 315.
Webster, Daniel, 100; lithograph of, 2.
Weld, Charles Richmond, death of, 4.
Wells, Thomas, 315.
Welstead, William, 335.
Wendel, Evert Jansen, 44.
Wendell, Barrett, gifts, 3, 44; Wendell seal, 44; motions, 86, 119; Madam Wendell, 147*n*.
Wendell, Elizabeth (Quincy), 44*n*.
Wendell, Jacob, 147*n*.
Wendell, John, seal, 44.
Wendell, John Mico, 147*n*.

Wendell, Katharine (Brattle), 147.
Wendell, Oliver, 147*n*.
Wendell, Sarah (Oliver), 147*n*.
Wentworth, ——, at Cartagena, 197, 202; medals, 274.
Wentworth, John, 100.
West Indies, colonial trade with, 190.
Wetmore, George Peabody, gifts, 2.
Weymouth, 197.
Wharton, Richard, 125.
White, Andrew Dickson, death of, 3, 119.
White, John, 315.
White, Peregrine, 166, 327.
White, Susanna, 166, 327.
White, William, 327.
White, William, 315.
White & Hill, note, 318.
Whitney, Peter, 312.
Whyte, Elizabeth, 31.
Wilder, Frank J., gift, 118.
Wilkinson, Anne, 151*n*.
Wilkinson, Pinckney, 151*n*.
Willard, Daniel, diary, 99.
Williams, Joseph, 315.
Williams, Thomas, 315.
Williston, Samuel, on J. B. Thayer, 136.
Willoughby, Francis, 161.
Wills, Michael, 315.
Wilson-Barker, William, 282.
Winkley, Samuel, 339.
Winship, George Parker, 334.
Winslow, Edward, 166; Canne's sermon with initials, 159; paper on career, 322.
Winslow, Elizabeth (Barker), 327.
Winslow, John, 316.
Winslow, Josiah, 166, 327.
Winslow, Susanna (White), 166.
Winsor, Ernest, deposit by, 118.
Winthrop, John, on Winslow, 329.
Winthrop, Robert Charles, letters, 45.
Wirt, William, portrait, 282.
Wiswall, John, 316.
Witchcraft in Massachusetts, 42.
Witherden, John, 316.
Woburn, Mass., records, 283.
Woodmansey, Robert, 316.
Woodward, Nathaniel, 316.
Wooster, Thomas, 334.
Worcester, Mass., Three County Fair Association, medal, 318; Light Infantry medal, 318.
Worcester, 193.
Wright, Joseph, Washington medal, 6.
Wyman, Jeffries, 105.
Wyndham, Douglas, 151.

Y.

Young, Ernest, 71.